A TRVE Coppie of a Diſ-

course written by a Gentleman, employed in the late Voyage of *Spaine* and *Portingale:*

Sent to his particular friend, and *by him publiſhed, for the better ſatisfacti-* on of all ſuch, as hauing been ſeduced *by particular report, haue entred in-* to conceipts tending to the diſcredit *of the enterpriſe, and* Actors of the *ſame.*

AT LONDON
Printed for Thomas Woodcock *dwelling in Paules Churchyard, at the ſigne of the blacke Beare.*
1589



Ome holding opinion, that it is onely proper to men of learning (whose Arte may grace their dooings) to write of matter worthie to be committed to the viewe of future Ages, may iudge the publication of such Discourses as are contained in this Pamphlet, to be an aduenture too great for a professed Souldier to vndertake: but I, more respecting the absolute trueth of the matter, than the faire shew that might be set thereon; and preferring the high reputation of the Actors in this Iourney before the request of my particular friend, haue presumed to present vnto you a report of the late *Voyage into Spaine and Portingall*, sent vnto me almost 4. moneths sithence frō a Gentleman my verie nere friend employed in the same; who, as it appeareth in his obseruations, hath aduisedlie seene into euerie action thereof: and because I haue often conferred with manie that were in the same Iourney, verie nere vpon euerie particular of his relation, and finde as much confirmed as I haue receiued, I presume to deliuer it vnto you for true & exact. Howbeit, seeing as much as it came vnto my hands with his earnest request to reserue it to my selfe, I had almost consented thereunto; had not the desire I haue to reconcile the contrarietie of opinions that be held of that action, & to make it known what honour the cause hath laid vpon our whole Nation, mooued me to publish the same: whereof sith there may growe a greater benefit in publique, (for that manie shall partake thereof) than the pleasure can be to him in smothering the labors he hath

beſtowed in ſetting downe the Diſcourſe, I doubt not but he eſteeming a cõmon good before his priuate fancie, will pardon me herein. In the behalfe of whom, I beſeech you to whoſe viewe and reading the ſame is offered, not ſo curiouſlie to looke vpon the forme, as vpon the matter; which I preſent vnto you as he ſent it, naked and vnpoliſhed. And you that were companions with him of the Iourney, if anie of you may thinke your ſelues not fully ſatisfied in the report of your deſeruings, let me intreate you to excuſe him, in that he indeuouring to write thereof briefly for my particular vnderſtanding, did onely take notice of them who cõmaunded the ſeruices in chiefe, as being of greateſt marke, and lay the blame vpon me, who can by no meanes auoyd it: ſauing that from the fault I haue committed, (if it be a fault) I hope there may ſome good proceed. It hath ſatisfied me in many things, whereof I beeing ignorant, was led into an erroneus conceipt of the matter and of the perſons: and I hope it ſhall both confirme others who maie remaine doubtfull of either; and reforme them that hauing been ſeduced, are become ſectaries againſt the ſame. I will therefore commend the man and matter to your friendly cenſure, forbearing to notifie his name, leaſt I might increaſe mine offence againſt him; & be nameleſſe my ſelfe for other good conſiderations: which I leaue friendly Reader to thy beſt conſtruction.

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THE TRVE COPIE of a letter ſent from a Gentleman, who was in al the ſeruices that were in the late Iourney of *Spaine*, and *Portingall*, to a friend of his.

ALthough the deſire of aduancing my reputation, cauſed me to withſtand the manie perſwaſions you vſed, to hold me at home, and the purſute of honorable actions drew me (contrarie to your expectation) to neglect that aduiſe, which in loue I know you gaue me: yet in reſpect of the manie aſſurances you haue yelded me of your kindeſt friendſhip, I can not ſuſpect that you wil either loue or eſtæme me the leſſe, at this my returne: and therefore will not omit anie occaſion which may make me appeare thankfull, or diſcharge anie part of that dutie I owe you; which now is none other, than to offer you a true diſcourſe how theſe warres of *Spaine* and *Portingall* haue paſſed ſince our going out of *England* the xviii. of Aprill, till our returne which was the firſt of July. Wherein I wil (vnder your fauourable pardon) for your further ſatiſfaction, aſwell make relation of thoſe reaſons which confirmed me in my purpoſe of going abroad, as of theſe accidents which haue happened during our abode there; thereby hoping to perſwade you, that no light fancie did draw me from the fruition of your deareſt friendſhip, but an earneſt deſire by following the warres, to make my ſelfe more worthie of the ſame.

Hauing therefore determinately purposed to put on this habit of a Souldiour, I grewe doubtfull whether to imploy my time in the warres of the Lowe Countreyes, which are in auxiliarie manner mainteined by her Maiestie; or to follow the fortune of this voyage, which was an aduenture of her and manie honorable personages, in reuenge of vnsupportable wrongs offered vnto the estate of our Countrey by the *Castilian* King: in arguing whereof, I finde that by how much the Challenger is reputed before the defendant, by so much is this iorney to be preferred before those defensiue warres. For had the Duke of *Parma* his turne béen to defend, as it was his good fortune to inuade, from whence could haue proceéded that glorious honor which these late warres haue laid vppon him, or what could haue bèen said more of him, than of a Respondent (though neuer so valiant) in a priuate Duell: Euen, that he hath done no more than by his honour he was tied vnto. For the gaine of one Towne or anie small defeate giueth more renowme to the Assailant, than the defence of a Countrey, or the withstanding of twentie encoũters can yéld any man who is bound by his place to gard the same: whereof as well the particulers of our age, especially in the *Spaniard*, as the reports of former histories may assure vs, which haue still laid the fame of all warres vpon the Inuador. And do not ours in these daies liue obscured in *Flanders*, either not hauing wherewithall to manage anie warre, or not putting on Armes, but to defend themselues when the Enemie shall procure them? Whereas in this short time of our Aduenture, wee haue wonne a Towne by escalade, battred and assaulted another, ouerthrowen a mightie Princes power in the field, landed our Armie in three seuerall places of his Kingdom, marched seauen daies in the hart of his Countrey, lyen three nights in the Suburbes of his principall Citie, beaten his forces into the gates thereof, and possessed two of his frontier Forts, as shall in discourse thereof more particulerly appeare: whereby I conclude, that going with

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an Inuadour, and in such an action as euerie daie giueth new experience, I haue much to vaunt of, that my fortune did rather carrie me thither, than into the warres of *Flanders*. Notwithstanding the vehement perswasions you vsed with me to the contrarie, the ground whereof sithence you receiued them from others, you must giue me leaue to acquaint you with the error you were lead into by them, who labouring to bring the world into an opinion, that it stood more with the safetie of our Estate to bend all our forces against the Prince of *Parma*, than to followe this action, by looking into the true effects of this Journey, will iudicially conuince themselues of mistaking the matter. For, may the Conquest of these Countreyes against the Prince of *Parma*, bee thought more easie for vs alone now, than the defence of them was xi. yeares agoe, with the men and money of the Queene of *England?* the power of the Monsieur of *France?* the assistance of the principall States of *Germanie?* and the Nobilitie of their owne Countrey? Could not an Armie of more than 20000. horse and almost 30000. foote, beate Don Iohn de Austria out of the Countrey, who was possessed of a verie few frontier Townes? And shall it now be laid vpon her Maiesties shoulders to remoue so mightie an Enimie, who hath left vs but 3. whole partsof 17. vncõquered? It is not a Journey of a few months, nor an auxiliarie warre of few peres that can dammifie the King of *Spaine* in those places, where we shall mæte at euerie 8. or 10. miles end with a Towne, which will cost more the winning, than will yearly pay 4. or 5000. mens wages, where all the Countrey is quartred by Riuers, which haue no passage vnfortefied: and where most of the best Souldiers of Christendome that be on our aduerse partie be in pencion. But our Armie which hath not cost her Maiestie much aboue the third part of one yeares expences in the Lowe Countries, hath alreadie spoyled a great part of the prouision he had made at the *Groyne* of all sorts, for a newe voyage into *England*; burnt 3. of his ships, whereof one

was the second in the last yeares expedition, taken from him aboue 150. péces of good artillarie, cut off more than 60. hulkes, and 20. French ships well manned, fit & readie to serue him for men of warre against vs, laden for his store with corne, victualls, masts, cables, and other merchandizes; slaine and taken the principall men of warre hee had in *Galitia*; made Don Pedro Enriques de Gusmañ, Conde de Fuentes, Generall of his Forces in *Portingall*, shamefullie runne at *Penicha*; laide along of his best Commaunders in *Lisbone*: and by these fewe aduentures discouered how easelie her Maiestie may without any great aduenture in short time pull the Tirant of the World vpon his knées, as well by the disquieting his vsurpation of *Portingall* as without difficultie in keeping the commoditie of his *Indies* from him, by sending an armie so accomplished, as may not bee subiect to those extremities which we haue endured: except he draw for those defences, his forces out of the Lowe countries and disfurnish his garisons of *Naples* and *Milan*, which with safetie of those places he may not do. And yet by this meane shall rather be inforced thereunto, than by any force that can be vsed there against him: wherefore I directly conclude, that this procéding is the most safe and necessarie way to be held against him; and therefore more importing, than the warre in the Lowe Countries.

Yet hath the iourney (I know) bèen much misliked by some, who either thinking too worthely of the Spaniards valour, too indifferently of his purposes against vs, or too vnworthely of them that vndertooke this iourney against him, did thinke it a thing dangerous to encounter the Spaniard at his owne home, a thing nédlesse to procéde by inuasion against him, a thing of too great moment for two subiects of their qualitie to vndertake. And therefore did not so aduance the beginnings as though they hoped for any good successe thereof.

The chaunces of warres bee things most vncertaine: for what people soeuer vndertake them, they are in déede but

but as chastizements appointed by God for the one syde or the other. For which purpose it hath pleased him to giue some victories to the Spaniards of late yeares against some whome he had in purpose to ruine. But if we consider what warres they be that haue made their name so terrible, we shall finde them to haue bēn none other, than against the barbarous *Moores*, the naked *Indians*, and the vnarmed *Netherlanders*: whose yēlding rather to the name than act of the *Spaniards*, hath put them into such a conceipt of their mightines, as they haue considerately vndertaken the conquest of our Monarchie, consisting of a people vnited and alwaies held sufficiently warlike: against whom, what successe their inuincible Armie had the last yeare, as our verie children can witnes, so I doubt not but this voyage hath sufficiently made knowne, what they are euen vpon their owne dounghill: which had it bēn set out in such sort as it was agreed vppon by their first demaund, it might haue made our Nation the most glorious people of the world. For hath not the want of 8. of the 12. pēces of Artillerie which was promised vnto the Aduenture, lost her Maiestie the possession of the *Groyne*, and many other places, as hereafter shal appeare; whose defencible Rampiers were greater than our batterie (such as it was) cold force: and therefore were left vnattempted.

It was also resolued to haue sent 600. English horse of the Lowe Countries, wherof we had not one, notwithstanding the great charges expended in their transportation hither: and that may the Armie assembled at *Puente de Burgos* thanke God of, as well as the forces of *Portingall*: who forceranne vs fiue daies together: Did wee not want seauen of ỹ thirtēne old Companies, we should haue had from thence: foure of the ten dutch Companies: & fiue of their men of warre for the sea, from the *Hollanders*: which I may iustly say we wanted, in that we might haue had so many good souldiers, so many good shippes, and so many able bodies more than we had?

Did there not, vpon the first thinking of the Journey

diuers gallant Courtiers put in their names for aduenturers to the summe of 1000 li. who seeing it went forward in good earnest, aduised themselues better, and laid the want of so much money vpon the Iourney?

Was there not moreouer a round summe of the aduenture spent in leuieng, furnishing, and mainteyning three moneths 1500. men for the seruice of *Berghen*: with which companies the Mutinies of *Ostend*, was suppressed: a seruice of no small moment?

What miserie the detracting of the time of our setting out, which should haue been the first of Februarie, did lay vpon vs, too many can witnesse: and what extremitie the want of that moneths victualls which we did eate, during the moneth wee lay at *Plimoth* for a winde, might haue driuen vs vnto, no man can doubt of, that knoweth what men do liue by, had not God giuen vs in the end a more prosperous winde and shorter passage into *Galitia*, then hath been often seen; where our owne force and fortune reuictualled vs largely: of which crosse windes that held vs two daies after our going out, the Generalls being wearie, thrust to Sea in the same, wisely chosing rather to attend the change thereof there; than by being in harborough to lose any part of the better when it should come by hauing their men on shoare: in which two daies 25. of our companies shipped in parte of the fleete, were scattered from vs, either not being able or willing to double *Vshant*.

These burthens laid vpon our Generalls before their going out, they haue patientlie endured, and I thinke they haue thereby much enlarged their honor: for hauing done thus much with the want of our Artillarie, 600. horse, 3000. foote, 20000 li. of their aduenture, and one moneths victualls of their proportion, what may bee coniectured they would haue done with their full compliment?

For the losse of our men at Sea, since wee can lay it on none but the will of GOD, what can be saide more, than that it is his pleasure, to turne all those impediments to the honour of them, against whome they were intended:

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and he will ſtill ſhew himſelfe the God of hoaſts in doing great things by them, whome many haue ſought to obſcure: who if they had let the action fal at the height thereof in reſpect of thoſe defects, which were ſuch eſpecially for the ſeruice at land, as would haue made a mightie ſubiect ſtoope vnder them; I do not ſee, how any man could iuſtly haue laide any reproach vpon him who commanded the ſame: but rather haue lamented the iniquitie of this time, wherein men whom forrein Countries haue for their conduct in ſeruice worthily eſtéemed of, ſhould not only in their own Countrey not be ſeconded in their honourable endeuors, but mightily hindred, euen to the impairing of their owne eſtates, which moſt willingly they haue aduentured for the good of their Countries: whoſe worth I will not valew by my report, leaſt I ſhould ſeeme guiltie of flatterie, (which my ſoule abhorreth,) and yet come ſhort in the true meaſure of their praiſe. Onely for your inſtruction, againſt them who had almoſt ſeduced you from the true opinion you ought to holde of ſuch men, you ſhall vnderſtand that Generall Norris from his booke was trained vp in the warres of the Admirall of *France*: and in verie young yeares had charge of men vnder the Erle of Eſſex in *Ireland*: which with what commendations he then diſcharged, I leaue to the reporte of them who obſerued thoſe ſeruices. Vpon the breach betwixt Don Iohn and the States, he was made Colonell Generall of all the *Engliſh* forces there preſent, or to come, which he continued two yeares: hée was then made Marſhall of the field, vnder Conte Hohenlo: and after that, Generall of the armie in *Friſland*: at his comming home in the time of Monſiers gouernement in *Flanders*, hée was made Lord Preſident of *Monſter* in *Ireland*: which he yet holdeth, from whence within one yeare he was ſent for, and ſent Generall of the *Engliſh* forces her Maieſtie then lent to the Lowe Countries: which hee held till the Earle of *Leiceſters* going ouer. And hee was made Marſhall of the field in *England*, the enemie being vpon our Coaſt, and when it was expec-

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ted the Crowne of *England* should haue béen tried by battaile. All which places of commandement which neuer any English-man successiuely attained vnto in forraine Warres, and the high places her Maiestie hath thought him worthie of, may suffice to perswade you, that he was not altogether vnlikely to discharge that which he vndertoke.

What fame Generall Drake hath gotten by his iourney about the world, by his aduentures to the west *Indies*: and the scourges he hath laid vpon the *Spanish* Nation, I leaue to the *Southerne* parts to speak of, and referre you to the booke extant in our own language treating of the same; and beseech you, considering the waighty matters they haue in all the course of their liues with wonderfull reputation managed, that you will estéeme them not well informed of their procédings, that thinke them insufficient to passe through that which they vndertoke, especiallie hauing gone thus farre in the viewe of the world, through so many incombrances, and disappointed of those agréements which led them the rather to vndertake the seruice. But it may be you wil thinke me herein either too much opinionated of the Voiage, or conceited of the Cõmanders, that labouring thus earnestly to aduance the opinion of them both, haue not so much as touched any part of the misorders, weakenes and wants that haue béen amongst vs, whereof, they that returned did plentifullie report. True it is, I haue conceiued a great opinion of the Iourney, and do thinke honorably of the Commanders: for we finde in greatest antiquities, that many Commanders haue béene receiued home with triumph for lesse merite, and that our owne Countrey hath honoured men heretofore with admiration, for aduentures vnequall to this: it might therefore in those daies haue séemed superfluous to extend any mans commendations by particuler remembrances, for that then all men were readie to giue euerie man his due. But I holde it most necessarie in these daies sithence euerie vertue findeth her direct opposit, and

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actions worthy of all memory, are in danger to be enuiouſlie obſcured to denounce the praiſes of the action, and actors to the full, but yet no further than with ſinceritie of truth, and not without grieuing at the iniurie of this time, wherin is enforced a neceſſitie of Apologies for thoſe mē, & matters, which all former times were accuſtomed to entertaine with the greateſt applauſe that might be. But to anſwere the reports which haue bēn giuen out in reproch of the actors & action by ſuch as were in the ſame. Let no man think otherwiſe, but that they who fearing the caſuall accidents of warre had any purpoſe of retourning, did firſt aduiſe of ſome occaſion that ſhould moue them thereunto: and hauing found any what ſo euer did thinke it ſufficiently iuſt, in reſpect of the earneſt deſire they had to ſeek out matter that might colour their comming home.

Of theſe there were ſome, who hauing noted the late Flemmiſh warres, did finde that many young men haue gone ouer and ſafely retourned Soldiers within fewe Moneths, in hauing learned ſome words of Art, vſed in the warres, and thought after that good example to ſpend like time amongſt vs: which being expired they began to quarrell at the great Mortallitie that was amongſt vs.

The neglect of diſcipline in the Armie, for that men were ſuffered to be drunck with the plentie of Wines.

Theſcarſetie of Surgions.

The want of Carriages for the hurt and ſicke: and the penurie of victualls in the Campe.

Thereupon diuining that there would be no good done. And that therfore they could be content to loſe their time, and aduenture to returne home againe.

Theſe men haue either conceiued well of their owne wits (who by obſeruing the paſſages of the warre: were become ſufficient Soldiers in theſe fewe weekes) and did long to be at home, where their diſcourſes might be wondred at, or miſſing of their Portegues and Milrayes they dreamed on in *Portingall*, would rather returne to their former manner of life, than attend the end of the

Iourney. For ſeeing that one hazard brought on another: and that though one eſcaped the bullet this day it might light vpon him to morow, the next day, or any day; & that ꝑ warre was not confined to any one place, but that euerie place brought forth new enemies, were glad to ſee ſome of the poore Soldiers fall ſicke, that they fearing to be infected by them might iuſtly deſire to goe home.

Anſwere to the firſt.

The ſickneſ I confeſſe was great, becauſe any is too much. But hath it been greater than is ordinarie amongſt *Engliſhmen* at their firſt entrance into the warres, whether ſoeuer they goe to want the fulnes of their fleſh pots? Haue not ours decayed at al times in *France*, with eating young fruites and drinking new wines? haue they not aboundantly periſhed in the Lowe Counteries with cold, and rawnes of the Ayre, euen in their Garriſons? haue there not more died in *London* in ſire Moneths of the Plague, than double our Armie being at the ſtrongeſt? And could the *Spaniſh* Armie the laſt yeare (who had all prouiſions that could bee thought on for an Armie, and tooke the fitteſt ſeaſon in the yeare for our Climate) auoide ſickneſ amongſt their Soldiers? May it then be thought that ours could eſcape there, where they found inordinate heat of weather, and hot wines to diſtemper them withal?

But can it bee, that wee haue loſt ſo many as the common ſort perſwade themſelues we haue? It hath been proued by ſtrickt examinations of our muſters, that wee were neuer in our fulnes before our going from *Plymoth* 11000. Soldiers, nor aboue 2500. Marriners. It is alſo euident that there returned aboue 6000. of all ſorts, as appeareth by the ſeuerall payments made to them ſince our comming home. And I haue truely ſhewed you that of theſe number verie neare 3000. forſooke the Armie at the Sea, whereof ſome paſſed into *France* and the reſt returned home. So as wee neuer being 13000. in all, and hauing brought home aboue 6000. with vs, you may ſee how the world hath been ſeduced, in beleeuing that wee haue loſt 16000. men by ſickneſ.

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To them that haue made queſtion of the gouernment of the warres (little knowing what appertaineth therunto in that ther were ſo many dr̃ũkards amongſt vs) I anſwer, that in their gouernment of ſhires & pariſhes, yea in their verie houſholdes, themſelues can hardlie bridle their vaſſalls from that vice. For we ſée it a thing almoſt impoſſible, at any your faires or publique aſſemblies to finde any quarter thereof ſober, or in your Townes any Alepoles vnfrequented: And we obſerue that though any man hauing any diſordered perſons in their houſes, dw locke vp their drinke and ſet buttlers vpon it, that they will yet either by indirect meanes ſteale themſelues drunke from their Maſters tables, or runne abroad to ſéeke it. If then at home in the eyes of your Juſtices, Mayors, Preachers, and Maſters, and where they pay for euerie pot they take, they cannot be kept from their liquor: dw they thinke that thoſe baſe diſordered perſons whome themſelues ſent vnto vs, as living at home without rule, who hearing of wine ſo long for it as a dainetie, that their purſes could neuer reach to in *England*, & hauing it there without money euẽ in their houſes where they lie & hold their guarde that can be kept from being drunk: and once drunk held in any order or tune, except we had for euerie drunckard an officer to attend him. But who be they that haue runne into theſe diſorders: Euen our neweſt men, our youngeſt men, and our idleſt men, and for the moſt parte, our ſlouenly preſt men, whome the Juſtices (who haue alwaies thought vnworthely of any warre) haue ſent out as the ſcumme and dregges of their Countrey. And thoſe were they, who diſtempering themſelues with theſe hot wines, haue brought in that ſickneſs, which hath infected honeſter men than themſelues. But I hope (as in other places) the recouerie of their diſeaſes doth acquaint their bodies with the ayre of the Countries where they be; ſo the remainder of theſe which haue either recouered, or paſt without ſickneſs will prooue moſt fit for Martiall ſeruiſes.

Anſwere to the ſecond.

If we haue wanted Surgions, may not this rather be laide

Anſwere to the third.

laide vpon the Captaines: who are to prouide for their ſeuerall Companies, than vpon the Generalls, whoſe care hath bēn more generall. And how may it be thought that euerie Captaine, vpon whome moſt of the charges of raiſing their Companies was laid as an aduenture could prouide themſelues of all things expedient for a warre, (which was alwaies wont to bée maintained by the purſe of the Prince:) But admit euerie Captaine had his Surgion: yet were the want of curing neuer the leſſe, for our Engliſh Surgions (for the moſt) part bée vnexperienced in hurts that come by ſhot; becauſe *England* hath not knowen warres, but of late, from whoſe ignorance procéded this diſcomfort, which I hope will warne thoſe that hereafter goe to the warres to make preparation of ſuch as may better preſerue mens liues by their ſkill.

Anſwere to the fourth.

From whence the want of carriages did procéde, you may coniecture in that we marched through a Countrey, neither plentifull of ſuch prouiſions, nor willing to parte from any thing: yet this I can aſſure you that no man of worth was left either hurt or ſicke in any place vnprouided for. And that the General commanded all the Mules & Aſſes, that were laden with any baggage, to be vnburdened and taken to that vſe: and the Earle of Eſſex and hee, for money hired men to carrie men vpon Pikes. And the Earle (whoſe true vertue and Nobilitie, as it doth in all other his actions appeare, ſo did it very much in this) threw his owne ſtuffe: I meane apparrell and neceſſaries which he had there from his owne carriages, and let them be left by the way, to put hurt and ſicke men vpon them. Of whoſe moſt honorable deſeruings: I ſhall not néede here to make any particuler diſcourſe, for that many of his actions do hereafter giue mée occaſion to obſerue the ſame.

Anſwere to the fifth.

And the great complaint that theſe men make for the want of victualls: may well proceed from their not knowing the wants of the warre; for if to feede vppon good beeues

beeues, mutton and goats, be to want, they haue indured great ſcarcitie at land; whereunto they neuer wanted two daies together, wine to mixe with their water, nor bread to eate with their meate (in ſome quantitie), except it were ſuch as had vowed rather to ſtarue, than to ſtirre out of their places for food: of whom we had too manie; who if their time had ſerued for it, might haue ſeene in manie Campes in the moſt plentifull *Countries* of the world for victualls, men daylie die with want of bread and drink, in not hauing money to buy, nor the Countrie yeelding anie good or healthfull water in anie place; whereas both *Spaine* and *Portingall*, do in euerie place afford the beſt water that may be, and much more healthfull than any wine for our drinking.

And although ſome haue moſt iniuriouſlie exclaimed againſt the ſmall prouiſions of victualls for the Sea, rather grounding the ſame vppon an euill that might haue fallen, than anie that did light vppon vs: yet knowe you this, that there is no man ſo forgetfull, that will ſay they wanted before they came to the *Groyne*; that whoſoeuer made not verie large prouiſions for himſelfe and his company at the *Groyne*, was verie improuident, where was plentifull ſtore of wine, beefe, and fiſh, and no man of place prohibited to laye in the ſame into their ſhippes; wherewith ſome did ſo furniſh themſelues, as they did not onely in the Journey ſupplie the wants of ſuch as were leſſe prouident than they, but in their return home made a round commoditie of the remainder thereof. And that at *Caſcais* there came in ſuch ſtore of prouiſions into the Fleete out of *England*, as no man that would haue vſed his diligence could haue wanted his due proportion thereof: as might appeare by the Remainder that was returned to *Plymouth*, and the plentifull ſale thereof made out of the Merchants ſhips after their comming into the *Thames*.

But leaſt I ſhould ſeeme vnto you too ſtudious in confuting idle opinions, or anſwering friuolous queſtions, I

will addreſſe me to the true repoꝛt of thoſe actions that haue paſſed there: wherein I pꝛoteſt, I will neither hide anie thing that hath happened againſt vs, noꝛ attribute moꝛe to anie man oꝛ matter, than the iuſt occaſions therof leadeth vnto: wherein it ſhall appeare, that there hath been nothing left vndone by the Generalls which was beforе our going out vndertaken by them; but that there hath been much moꝛe done than was at the firſt required by Don Antonio, who ſhould haue reaped the fruite of our Aduenture.

After 6. daies ſailing from the Coaſt of *England*, and the fift after we had the winde good, beeing the 20. of Apꝛil in the euening, we landed in a Bay moꝛe than an Engliſh mile from the *Groyne*, in our long Boates and Pinnyſes without anie impeachment: from whence we pꝛeſently marched toward the Towne, within one halfe mile whereof we were encountred by the Enemie, who being charged by ours, retired into their gates. Foꝛ that night our Armie lay in the villages, houſes and milles next adioyning, and verie neare round abont the Towne, into the which the Galeon named Saint Iohn (which was the ſecond of the laſt yeres Fleete againſt *England*) one hulk, two ſmaller ſhips, and two Gallies which were found in the Rode, did beate vpon vs and vpon our Companies, as they paſſed to and fro that night and the next moꝛning.

Generall Norris hauing that moꝛning befoꝛe day viewed the Towne, found the ſame defended on the land ſide (foꝛ it ſtandeth vpon the neck of an Iland) with a wal vpon a drie ditch: wherupon he reſolued to trie in two places what might be done againſt it by eſcalade, and in the meane time aduiſed foꝛ the landing of ſome Artillarie to beat vpon the ſhips & Gallies, that they might not annoy vs: which being put in execution, vpon the planting of the firſt peece the Gallies abandoned the Road, and betoke them to *Farroll*, not farre from thence: and the Armado being beaten with the artillary & muſketers that was pla-

ced

red vpon the next shoare, left her playing vpon vs. The rest of the day was spent in preparing the Companies, & other prouisions readie for the surprise of the Base towne, which was effected in this sort.

There were appointed to be landed 1200. men vnder the conduct of Colonell Huntley, and Captaine Fenner the Vizeadmirall, on that side next fronting vs by water in long boates and pynnises, wherein were placed manie peeces of artillarie to beate vpon the Towne in their approach: at the corner of the wall which defended the other water side, were appointed Captain Richard Wingfeild Lieutenant Colonell to Generall Norris, and Captaine Sampson Lieutenant Colonell to Generall Drake to enter at lowe water with 500. men if they found it passable, but if not, to betake them to the escalade, for they had also ladders with them: at the other corner of the wall which ioyned to that side, that was attempted by water, were appoynted Colonell Vmpton, and Colonell Brett with 300. men to enter by escalade. All the Companies which should enter by boate being imbarked before the lowe water: and hauing giuen the Alarme, Captaine Wingfeild and Captaine Sampson betoke thē to the escalade, for they had in commandement to charge all at one instant. The boates landed without anie great difficultie: yet had they some men hurt in ẏ landing. Colonell Bret & Col. Vmpton entred their quarter without encounter, not finding anie defence made against them: for Captain Hinder being one of them that entred by water, at his first entrie (with some of his owne Companie whom he trusted well, betoke himselfe to that part of the wall, which he cleered before that they offered to enter, & so still scoured the wall) till he came on the backe of them who maintained the fight against Captaine Wingfeild & Captaine Sampson; who were twice beaten from their ladders, and found verie good resistance, till the Enemies perceiuing ours entred in two places at their backs, were driuen to abandon the same. The reason why that place

was

was longer defended than the other, is (as Don Iuan de Luna who commanded the same affirmeth) that the Enemie that day had resolued in councel how to make their defences, if they were approached: and therein concluded, that if we attempted it by water, that it was not to be holde, and therefore vpon the discouerie of our Boates, they of the high Towne should make a signall by fier frõ thence, that al the low Towne might make their Retreate thither: but they, (whither troubled with the sodaine terror we brought vpon them, or forgetting their decrée) omitted the fier, which made them gard that place till wee were entred on euerie side.

Then the Towne being entred in three seuerall places with an huge crie, the inhabitants betoke them to the high Towne: which they might with lesse perrill do: for that ours being strangers ther, knew not the way to cut thẽ of. The rest that were not put to the sword in furie, fled to the Rockes in the Iland, and hid themselues in chambers and sellers, which euerie day found out in great nũbers.

Amongst those Don Iuan de Luna a man of verie good commandement, hauing hidden himselfe in a house, did the next morning yéeld himselfe.

There was also taken that night a Commissarie of vittels called Iuan de vera, who confessed that there were in the *Groyne* at our entrie 500. Soldiers being in seauen companies which returned verie weake (as appeareth by the small numbers of them) from the Journey of *England*, namely.

Under Don Iuan deluna.

Don Diego Barran, a bastard sonne of the Marques of *Santa Chroche*; his companie was that night in the *Galeon*.

Don Antonio de Herera then at *Madrill*.

Don Pedro de Mauriques Brother to the Earle of *Paxides*.

Don Ieronimo de Mourray of the order of Saint Iuan, with some of the Towne were in the fort.

Don

Don Gomer de Caramasal then at *Madril.*
Captaine Mouson, Caucaso de Socas.

Also there came in that day of our landing from *Retanzas* the companies of Don Iuan de Mosalle, and Don Petro poure de leon.

Also hee saith that there was order giuen for baking of 300000. of Bisquet, some in *Bataneas*, some in *Rinadea*, and the rest there.

There was then in the Towne 2000. pipes of wine, and an 150. in the ships.

That there was lately come vnto the Marquis of *Seralba* 300000. ducats.

That there was 1000. Farres of oyle.

A great quantitie of beanes, pease, wheate, and fish.

That there was 3000. quintells of beefe.

And that not 20. dayes before there came in three Barques laden with match and harquebuses.

Some others also found fauour to bee taken prisoners, but the rest falling into the hands of the common Soldiers, had their throates cut: to the number of 500. as I coniecture first and last after wee had entred the Towne; and in the enterie thereof, there was found euerie celler full of Wine, whereon our men by inordinate drinking, both grewe themselues for the present senceles of the danger of the shot of the Towne, which hurt many of them being drunke, and toke, the first ground of their sicknes, for of such was our first and chiefest mortalitie. There was also aboundant store of victualls, salt and all kinde of prouision for shipping and the warre: which was confessed by the sayd Commissarie of victuals taken there to be the beginning of a Magasin of all sorts of prouision for a new Voiage into *England*: whereby you may coniecture what the spoile thereof hath aduauntaged vs, and preiudiced the King of *Spaine*.

The next morning about eight of the clocke, the Enemie abandoned their Shippes. And hauing ouercharged

the Artillarie of the Gallion, left her on fier, which burnt in terrible sort two daies together, the fier and ouercharging of the peeces being so great, as of 50. that were in her, ther wer not aboue 16. taken out whole, the rest with ouer charge of the pouder beeing broken and molten, with heat of the fire, was taken out in broken peeces into diuerse Shippes. The same day was the Cloister on the south side of the Towne entered by vs, which ioyned very neare to the wall of the Towne, out of the Chambers and other places whereof wee beate into the same with our Musquetiers.

The next day in the afternoone there came downe some 2000. men gathered together out of the countrie, euen to to the gates of the towne, as resolutlie (led by what spirit I knowe not) as though they would haue entered the same: but at the first defence made by ours that had the gard there, wherein were slaine about eighteene of theirs, they toke them to their heeles in the same disorder they made their approach, and with greater speede than ours were able to followe; Notwithstanding, we followed after them more than a mile. The second day Col. Huntley was sent into the countrie with three or foure hundred men, who brought home verie great store of Cowes and Sheepe for our relefe.

The third day in the night the Generall had in purpose to take a long Munition house builded vpon their wall, opening towards vs, which would haue giuen vs great aduauntage against them; but they knowing the commoditie thereof for vs, burnt it in the beginning of the euening: which put him to a newe councell, for hee had likewise brought some Artillarie to that side of the towne. During this time, there happened a verie great fire in the lower end of the towne; which had it not been by the care of the Generals heedilie seen vnto, and the furie thereof preuented, by pulling downe many houses which were most in danger, as next vnto them, had burnt all the prouisions we found there, to our wonderfull hinderance.

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The 4. day were planted vnder the garde of the Cloyster two demie Canons, and two Culuerings against the towne, defended or gabbioned with a crosse wall, through the which our batterie lay; the first & second tyre whereof shoke al the wall downe, so as the ordnance lay al open to the enemie, by reason whereof some of ꝑ Canoniers were shot & some slaine. The Lieutenant also of the ordnance Master Spencer was slaine fast by Sir Edward Norris, Master thereof: whose valor being accompanied with an honorable care of defending that trust committed vnto him, he neuer left that place, till he receiued direction from the Generall his brother to cease the Batterie which hee presently did, leauing a guard vppon the same for that day: and in the night following made so good defence for the place of the Batterie, as after there were verie fewe or none annoyed therein. That day Captain Goodwin had in commandement from the Generall, that when the assault should be giuen to the Towne, he should make a proffer of an escalade on the other side, where hee helde his guard: but he (mistaking the signall that should haue been giuen) attempted the same long before the assault, & was shot in the mouth. The same daye the Generall hauing planted his Ordenance readie to batter, caused the towne to be sommoned, in which sommons, they of the Towne shot at our Drum: immediately after that there was one hanged ouer the wall, and a parley desired, wherein they gaue vs to vnderstand, that the man hanged, was he that shot at the Drum before; wherein also they intreated to haue faire warrs, with promise of the same on their parts: the rest of the parley was spent in talking of Don Iuan de Luna, and some other prisoners, and somwhat of the rendring of the Towne, but not much, for they listened not greatly thereunto.

Generall Norris hauing by his skilfull viewe of the Towne (which is almost all seated vpon a Rocke) found one place therof myneable, & did presently set workmen in hand withal: who after 3. daies labor, (& the seuenth after

wée were entred the base Towne) had bedded their powder, but indeed not farre inough into the wall. Against which time ẏ breach made by ẏ cannon being thought assaultable, and Companies appoynted as wel to enter the same, as that which was expected should be blowen vp by the Myne: namely, to that of the Cannon, Captaine Richard Wingfeild, and Captaine Philpot, who lead the Generalls ſwte Companie; with whom also Captaine Yorke went, whose principall Commandment was ouer the horsmen. And to that of the Myne, Captaine Iohn Sampson, and Captain Anthonie Wingfeild Lieutenant Colonell to the Master of the Ordinance, with certain selected out of diuers Regiments. All these Companies being in Armes, and the assault intended to be giuen in all places at an instant, fier was put to the train of the Myne: but by reason the powder brake out backwards in a place where the caue was made too high, there could be nothing done in either place for that day. During this time, Captaine Hinder was sent with some chosen out of euerie Companie into the countrie for prouisions, whereof hée brought in good store, and returned without losse.

The nert day Captaine Anthonie Sampson was sent out with some 500. to fetch in prouisions for the Armie, who was encountred by them of the Countrie: but he put thē to flight, & returned with good spoyle. The same night the Myners were set to worke againe, who by the second day after had wrought verie wel into the foundation of the wall. Against which time the Companies aforesaid being in readines for both places (Generall Drake on the other side with 2. or 300. men in Pinnaces, making profer to attempt a strong Fort vpon an Iland before the Towne, where he left more than 30. men) fier was giuen to the trayne of the Myne, which blew vp halfe the Tower vnder which the powder was planted. The Assailants hauing in charge vpon the effecting of the Myne presently to giue the assault, which they did accordingly; but too soone, for hauing entred the top of the breach, the other halfe of

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the Tower, which with the first force of the powder was onely shaken and made loose, fell vppon our men: vnder which were buried about 20. or 30. then being vnder that part of the Tower. This so amazed our men that stood in the breach, not knowing from whence that terror came, as they forsoke their Commanders, and left them among the ruines of the Wyne. The two Ensignes of Generall Drake and Captaine Anthonie Wingfeild, were shot in the Breach, but their colours were reicued: the Generals by Captaine Sampsons Lieutenant, and Captaine Wingfeilds by himselfe. Amongst them that the wall fell vpon, was Captaine Sydnam pitifully lost: who hauing three or foure great stones vpon his lower parts, was holde so fast, as neither himselfe could stirre, nor anie reasonable Companie recouer him. Notwithstanding the next daye being found to be aliue, ther was 10. or 12. lost in attempting to relieue him.

The breach made by the Cannon, was wonderful wel assaulted by them that had the charge therof, who brought their men to the push of the pike at the top of the Breach. And being readie to enter, the lose earth (which was indeede but the rubbish of the outside of the wall) with the weight of them that were thereon slipped outwards from vnder their feete. Whereby did appeare halfe the wal vnbattered. For let no man thinke that Culuerine or Demie Cannon can sufficiently batter a defensible Rampier: and of those peeces we had, the better of the Demi Canons at the second shot brake in her cariages, so as the battrie was of lesse force, being but of three pieces.

In our Retreat (which was from both breaches thorowe a narrowe lane) were many of our men hurt: and Captaine Dolphin, who serued verie well that day, was hurt in the verie Breach. The failing of this attempt, in the opinion of all the beholders, & of such as were of best iudgement, was the fall of the Wyne: which had doubtlesse succeeded, the rather, because the approach was vnlooked for by the Enemie in that place, and therefore not

so much defence made there as in the other. Which made the Generall grow to a new resolution: For finding that two dayes batterie had so little beaten their wall, and that he had no better preparation to batter withall: he knewe in his experience, there was no good to be done that way: whith I thinke he first put in proofe, to trie if by that terror he could get the vpper Towne, hauing no other waie to put it in hazard so spedelie, and which in my conscience had obtained the Towne, had not the Defendants been in as great perill of their liues by the displeasure of their King in giuing it vp, as by the bullet or sword in defending the same. For that day before the assault, in the view of our Armie, they burnt a Cloyster within the Towne, and manie other houses adioyning to the Castle, to make it the more defencible: whereby it appeared how little opinion themselues had of holding it against vs, had not God (who would not haue vs sodainly made proud) laid that misfortune vpon vs.

Hereby it may appeare, that the foure Cannons, and other pieces of batterie promised to the iourney, and not performed, might haue made her Maiestie Mistres of the *Groyne*: for though the Mine were infortunate, yet if the other breach had been such as the earth would haue holde our men thereon, I dow not thinke but they had entred it throughly at the first assault giuen: which had been more than I haue heard of in our age. And being as it was, is no more than the Prince of *Parma* hath in winning of all his Townes endured, who neuer entred anie place at the first assault, nor aboue three by assault.

The next day, the Generall hearing by a prisoner that was brought in, that the Conde de Andrada had assembled an Armie of 8000. at *Puente de Burgos*, sixe miles from thence in the way to *Petance*, which was but the beginning of an Armie: in that there was a greater leauie readie to come thether vnder the Conde de Altemira, either in purpose to relieue the *Groyne*, or to encamp themselues neere the place of our embarking, there to hinder

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the same; for to that purpose had the Marques of Seralba written to them both the first night of our landing, as the Commissarie taken then confessed, or at the least to stop our further entrance into the Countrey, (for during this time, there were many incursions made of three or foure hundred at a time, who burnt, spoyled, and brought in victualls plentifullie. The Generall, I say, hearing of this Armie, had in purpose the next day following to visite them, against whom he carried but nine Regiments: in the Vangard were the Regiment of Sir Roger Williams, Sir Edward Norris, and Colonell Sidney: in the Battaile, that of the Generall, of Colonell Lane, and Colonell Medkerk: and in the Rereward, Sir Henrie Norris, Colonell Huntley, and Colonell Brets Regiments; leauing the other fiue Regiments with Generall Drake, for the garde of the Cloyster and Artillarie. About tenne of the clocke the next day, being the first of May, halfe a mile from the Campe, wee discouering the Enemie, Sir Edward Norris, who commanded the Vangard in chiefe, appointed his Lieutenant Colonell, Captaine Anthonie Wingfield to command the shot of the same, who deuided thē into three troupes; the one he appointed to Captaine Middleton to be conducted in a way on the left hand: another to Captaine Errington to take the way on the right hand, and the bodie of them (which were Musketters) Captaine Wingfield toke himselfe, keeping the direct way of the march. But the way taken by Captaine Middleton met a little before with the way helde by Captaine Wingfield, so as he giuing the first charge vpon the Enemie, was in the instant seconded by Captaine Wingfield, who beate them from place to place (they hauing verie good places of defence, and crosse walles which they might haue held long) till they betoke them to their bridge, which is ouer a creeke comming out of the Sea, builded of stone vpon Arches. On the foote of the further side whereof, lay the Campe of the Enemie verie stronglie entrenched, who with our

shot

ſhot beaten to the further end of the bridge, Sir Edward Norris marching in the poynt of the pikes, without ſtay paſſed to the bridge, accompanied with Colonell Sidney, Captaine Hinder, Captaine Fulford, and diuers others, who found the way cleere ouer ẏ ſame, but through an incredible volie of ſhot; for that the ſhot of their Armie flanked vpon both ſides of the bridge, the further end whereof was barricaded with barrells: but they who ſhould haue garded the ſame, ſeeing the proude approach wee made, forſooke the defence of the Barricade, where Sir Edward entered, and charging the firſt defendant with his pike, with verie earneſtnes in ouerthruſting, fell, and was grieuouſlie hurt at the ſword in the head, but was moſt honorablie reſkued by the Generall his brother, accompanied with Colonell Sidney, and ſome other gentlemen: Captaine Hinder alſo hauing his Caſke ſhot off, had fiue wounds in the head and face at the ſword: and Captaine Fulford was ſhot into the left arme at the ſame counter: yet were they ſo throughlie ſeconded by the Generall, who thruſt himſelfe ſo neere to giue incouragement to the attempt, (which was of wonderful difficultie) as their braueſt men that defended that place being ouerthrowne, their whole Armie fell preſentlie into route, of whom our men had the chaſe three miles in foure ſondrie waies, which they betooke themſelues vnto. There was taken the Standerd with the Kings Armes, and borne before the Generall. How many, two thouſand men (for of ſo many conſiſted our Vangard) might kill in purſuit of 4. ſundrie parties, ſo many you may imagine fell before vs that day. And to make the number more great, our men hauing giuen ouer the execution, and returning to their ſtands, found many hidden in the Vineyards and hedges which they diſpatched. Alſo Colonell Medkerk was ſent with his Regiment three miles further to a Cloyſter, which he burnt and ſpoyled, wherein he found two hundred more and put them to the ſword. There were ſlaine in this fight on our ſide onlie Captaine Cooper

per, and one priuate souldier: Captaine Barton was also hurt vppon the bridge in the eye. But had you seene the strong Baracades they had made on either side of the bridge, and how strongly they lay encamped thereabouts, you would haue thought it a rare resolution of ours to giue so braue a charge vpon an Armie so strongly lodged. After the furie of the execution, the Generall sent the Vaugard one way, and the Battell another, to burne and spoyle; so as you might haue seen the countrie more than three miles compasse on fire. There was found verie good store of Munition and Victuals in the Campe, some plate and rich apparell, which the better sort left behind, they were so hotlie pursued. Our Sailors also landed in an Iland next adioyning our shippes, where they burnt and spoyled all they found. Thus we returned to the *Groyne*, bringing small comfort to the enemie within the same, who shot many times at vs as wee marched out, but not once in our comming backe againe.

The next day was spent in shipping our Artillarie landed for the Batterie, and of the rest taken at the *Groyne*, which had it bẽn such as might haue giuen vs any assurance of a better batterie, or had there bẽn no other purpose of our Journey but that, I thinke the Generall would haue spent some more time in the siege of the place.

The two last nights, there were that vndertooke to fire the higher towne in one place, where the houses were builded vpon the wall by the water side: but they within suspecting as much, made so good defence against vs, as they preuented the same. In our departure there was fire put into euerie house of the lowe towne, in somuch as I may iustlie say, there was not one house left standing in the Vase towne, or the Cloyster.

The next day, being the eight of May, wee embarked our Armie without losse of a man, which (had we not beaten the Enemie at *Puente de Burgos*) had been impossible to haue done; for that without doubt they would haue at-

tempted something against vs in our imbarking: as appeared by the report of the Commissarie aforesayd, who confessed, that the first night of our landing, the Marques of Seralba writ to the Conde de Altemira, the Conde de Andrada, & to Terneis de Santisso, to bring al the forces against vs that they could possiblie raise, thinking no way so good to assure that place, as to bring an armie thether, wherewithall they might either besiege vs in their Base towne, if we should get it, or to lie betweene vs and our place of embarking, to fight with vs vpon the aduantage; for they had aboue 15000. souldiers vnder their commandements.

After wee had put from thence, wee had the winde so contrarie, as wee could not vnder nine daies recouer the *Burlings*: in which passage on the 13. day, the Earle of Essex, and with him Master Walter Deuereux his brother (a Gentleman of wonderful great hope), Sir Roger Williams, Colonell generall of the foot men, Sir Philip Butler, who hath alwaies been most inward with him, and Sir Edward Wingfield, came into the Fléete. The Earle hauing put himselfe into the Journey against the opinion of the world, and as it seemed to the hazard of his great fortune, though to the great aduancement of his reputation, (for as the honorable cariage of himselfe towards all men, doth make him highlie estéemed at home; so did his exceeding forwardnes in all seruices, make him to be wondred at amongst vs) who, I say, put off in the same winde from *Famouth*, that wee left *Plymouth* in, where he lay, because he would auoide the importunitie of messengers that were daylie sent for his returne, and some other causes more secret to himselfe, not knowing (as it seemed) what place the Generals purposed to land in, had been as farre as *Cales* in *Andalosia*, and lay vp and downe about the South Cape, where he toke some ships laden with Corne, and brought them vnto the Fleete. Also in his returne from thence to méete with our Fléete, he fell with the Ilands of *Bayon*; and on that side of the

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riuer which *Cannas* standeth vpon: he, with Sir Roger Williams, & those Gentlemen that were with him went on shore, with some men out of the ship he was in, whom the enemie that held gard vpon the Coast, would not abide, but fled vp into the country. After his cõming into the fleet (to the great reioycing of vs all) he demaunded of the Generals, that after our Armie should come on shore, he might alwaies haue the leading of the vantgard, which they easilie pæloed vnto: as being desirous to satisfie him in all things, but especially in matters so much tending to his honor as this did; so as from the time of our first landing in *Portingall*, hee alwaies marched in the poynt of the vangard, accompanied with Sir Roger Williams (except when the necessitie of the place bee held) called him to other seruices.

The 16. day we landed at *Penicha* in *Portingall*, vnder the shot of the Castle, and aboue the waste in water, more than a mile from ẏ towne, wherin many were in peril of drowning, by reason the wind was great, & the Sea went high, which ouerthrew one boat wherin 25. of Captaine Dolphins men perished. The Enemie, being fiue cõpanies of *Spanyards* vnder the cõmaundement of ẏ Conde de Fuentes, sallied out of the towne against vs, & in our landing made their approach close by the water side. But the Earle of Essex, w̃ Sir Roger Williams & his brother, hauing landed sufficient number to make 2. troups, left one to hold the way by the water side, and led ẏ other ouer the Sandhils: which the Enemy seeing, drew theirs likewise further into the land; not, as we coniectured, to encounter vs, but indeede to make their spædie passage away: notwithstanding they did it in such sort, as being charged by ours which were sent out by ẏ Colonell-generall vnder Captaine Iacson, they stood the same euen to the push of the pike: in which charge & at the push, Captaine Robert Piew was slaine. The Enemie being fled further thã we had reason to follow them, al our companies were drawn to the town: which being vnfortified in any place, we found vndefended by anie man against vs. And therefore the Generall caused the castle to bee sõmoned ẏ night: which being abandoned by him that cõmaunded it, a *Portingall*, named [illegible]

nio de Aurid, being poſſeſſed thereof, deſired but to be aſſured that Don Antonio was landed, whereupon he would deliuer ẏ ſame, which he honeſtly perfoꝛmed. There was taken out of the caſtle 100. ſhot & pikes, which Don Emanuel furniſhed his *Portingals* withall, & 20. barrels of powder: ſo as poſſeſſing both ẏ towne & the caſtle, we reſted there one day; wherin ſome Friers & other poꝛe men came vnto their newe King, pꝛomiſing in the name of their Countrie next adioyning, that within two daies he ſhould haue a good ſupplie of hoꝛſe & foote foꝛ his aſſiſtance. That day we remained there, the Generals company of hoꝛſes were vnſhipped.

The Generals hauing there reſolued ẏ the Armie ſhould march ouer land to *Liſbone* vnder ẏ conduct of generall Norris: & that general Drake ſhould mẽet him in the riuer thereof wᵭ the fleete: that there ſhould be one company of foote left in gard of the caſtle, & 6. of the ſhips: alſo ẏ the ſicke and hurt ſhould remaine there wᵭ pꝛouiſions foꝛ their cures. The General, to trie ẏ euent of the matter by expedition, the next day began to march on this ſoꝛt: his owne regiment, & the regiments of Sir Roger Williams, Sir Henrie Norris, Colonel Lane, & Colonel Medkerk, in the Vangard: Generall Drake, Colonel Deuereux, S. Edward Norris, & Colonel Sidneis in ẏ Battaile: S. Iames Hales, Sir Edward Wingfield, Colonell Vmptons, Colonell Huntleis, & Colonell Brets in the arrereward. By that time our armie was thus marſhalled, general Drake, who though he were to paſſe by ſea, yet to make known the honoꝛable deſire he had of taking equal part of al foꝛtunes wᵭ vs, ſtood vpõ the aſcent of an hil, by ẏ which our Battalions muſt of neceſſitie march, & with a pleaſing kindnes toke his leaue ſeuerally of the cõmaunders of euerie regiment, wiſhing vs al happy ſucceſſe in our iourney ouer the land, with a conſtant pꝛomiſe ẏ he would, if the iniury of ẏ wether did not hinder him, mẽet vs in the riuer of *Liſbone* with our fleete. The want of carriages the firſt day was ſuch, as they were enfoꝛced to carrie their Munition vpon mens backes, which was the next day remedied.

In this march Captaine Criſpe, the Pꝛouoſt Marſhall, cauſed one who (contrarie to the pꝛoclamation publiſhed

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at our arriuall in *Portingall*) had broken vp a house for pillage, to be hanged, with the cause of his death vpon his breast, in the place where the act was committed: which good example prouidentlie giuen in the beginning of our march, caused the commandement to be more respectiuelie regarded all the iourney after, by them whom feare of punishment doth onlie hold within compasse. The Camp lodged that night at *Lorignia*: The next day we had intelligence al the way that the enemie had made head of horse and foote against vs at *Toras Vedras*, which wee thought they would haue held: But comming thither the seconde day of our march, not two houres before our Vangarde came in, they lefte the Towne and Castle to the possession of Don Antonio.

There began the greatest want we had of victualls, especiallie of bread, vpon a Commandement giuen from the Generall, that no man should spoyle the Countrey, or take anie thing from anie Portingal: which was more respectiuely obserued, than I thinke would haue been in our owne Countrey, amongst our owne friends and kindred: but the Countrey (contrarie to promise) hauing neglected the prouision of victualls for vs, whereby we were driuen for that time into a great scarcitie. Which moued the Colonell Generall to call all the Colonels together, and with them to aduise for some better course for our people: who thought it best, first to aduertise ỳ king what necessitie we were in, before we shuld of our selues alter the first institution of abstinence: the Colonell generall hauing acquainted the General herewith, with his very good allowance therof, went to the King; who after some expostulations vsed, toke the more carefull order for our men, and after that our Armie was more plentifully relieued.

The third daye wee lodged our Armie in three sundrie villages, the one Battalion lying in *Enchara de los Canaliers*, another in *Enchara de los Obisbos*, and the third in *San Sebastians*.

Captaine Yorke who commanded the Generals horse

companie, in this march made triall of the valour of the horsmen of the Enemie; who by one of his Corporalls charged with 8. horses through 40. of them, and himselfe through more than 200. with some 40 horse: who would abide him no longer than they could make way from him.

The next day we marched to *Loris*, and had diuers intelligences that the enemie would tarrie vs there: for the Cardinall had made publique promise to them of *Lisbone*, that he would fight with vs in that place, which hee might haue done aduantageously; for we had a bridge to passe ouer in the same place: but before our comming hee dislodged, notwithstanding it appeared vnto vs that hee had in purpose to encampe there: for wee found the ground staked out where their trenches should haue been made: and their horsmen with some few shot shewed themselues vpon a hill at our comming into that village. Whom Sir Henrie Norris (whose Regiment had the poynt of the Vangard) thought to draw vnto some fight, and therefore marched without sound of Drum, and somewhat faster than ordinarie, thereby to get neere them before hee were discouered, for he was shadowed from them by an hill that was betweene him and them: but before he could draw his companies anie thing neere, they retired.

Generall Drakes Regiment that night for the commoditie of good lodging, drewe themselues into a Village, more than one English mile from thence, and neare the Enemie: who not daring to doo anie thing against vs in foure dayes before, toke that occasion, and in the next morning fell downe vpon that Regiment, crying, *Viua el Rey Don Antonio*, which was a generall salutation thorough all the Countrey as they came: whom our young Souldiers (though it were vpon their guard, and before the watch were discharged) began to entertaine kindly, but hauing got within their guard, they fell to cut their throates: but the Alarme being taken inwards, the Officers of the two next Companies, whose Captaines, (Captaine Sydnam and Captaine Young) were lately

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dead at the *Groyne*, brought down their colours and pikes vpon them in so resolute manner, as they presently draue them to retyre with losse: they killed of ours at their first entrance 14. and hurt sixe or seauen.

The next day we lodged at *Aluelana* within three miles of *Lisbone*, where many of our Souldiers drinking in two places of standing waters by the waie, were poysoned, & thereon presently died: some do thinke it came rather by eating of honnie, which they found in the houses plentifully. But whether it were by water or by honnie, the poore men were poysoned.

That night the Earle of *Essex*, and Sir Roger Williams went out about eleuen of the clock with 1000. men to lye in Ambuscade neere the Towne, and hauing layd the same verie neere, sent some to giue the Alarme vnto the Enemie: which was well performed by them that had the charge thereof, but the Enemie refused to issue after them, so as the Earle returned as sone as it was light without doing anie thing, though he had in purpose, and was readie to haue giuen an honourable Charge on them.

The 25. of May in the euening we came to the Suburbes of *Lisbone*: at the verie entrance whereof, Sir Roger Williams calling Captain Anthony Wingfield with him, toke thirtie shot or thereabouts, and first scowred al the streetes till they came verie neare the Towne; where they found none but olde folkes and beggers, crying, *Viua el Rey Don Antonio*, and the houses shut vp: for they had carried much of their wealth into the Towne, and had fired some houses by the water side, ful of corne and other prouisions of victualls, least we should be benefited thereby, but yet left behinde them great riches in manie houses.

The foure Regiments that had the Vangard that day which were Colonell Deuereux, Sir Edward Norris, Colonell Sydneys and Generall Drakes whome I name as they marched, the Colonell Generall caused to holde

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guard in the nearest streates of the Suburbes: The Battaile and the arrierward stood in Armes al the night in the field neare to *Alcantara*. Before Morning Captaine Wingfield, by direction from ỳ Colonel General Sir Roger Williams helde guard with Sir Edward Norris his Regiment in three places verie nére the Towne wal, and so helde the same till the other Regiments came in the morning. About midnight they within the Towne burnt all their houses that stood vpon their wall either within or without, least we possessing them, might thereby greatly haue annoyed the Towne.

The next morning Sir Roger Williams attempted, (but not without perill) to take a Church called *S. Antonio*, which ioyned to the wall of the towne, and woulde haue bẽn a verie euill neighbour to the towne: but the Enemie hauing more easie entrie into it than wee, gained it before vs. The rest of that morning was spent in quartering the Battaile and arierward in the Suburbes called *Bona vista*, & in placing Musquetiers in houses, to frunt their shot vpon the wall, who from the same scowred the great streates verie dangerouslie.

By this time our men being throughly wearie with our fiue dayes March: and the last nights watch, were desirous of rest: whereof the Enemie being aduertised, about one or two of the clocke sallied out of the Town, and made their approach in three seuerall streates vpon vs, but chiefly in Colonell Bretts quarter: who (as most of the Armie was) being at rest, with as much spéed as he could, drew his men into Armes, and made head against them so throughly, as himselfe was slaine in the place, Captaine Carsey shot through the thigh, of which hurt he died with in four dayes after, Captaine Carre slaine presently, and Captaine Caue hurt (but not mortally) who were all of his Regiment.

This resistance made as wel here, as in other quarters where Colonell Lane and Colonel Medkerke commanded, put them to a sodaine fowle retreate: in so much, as

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the Earle of *Essex* had the chase of them euen to the gates of the high Towne, wherein they left behinde them many of their best Commanders: their Troope of horsmen also came out, but being charged by Captaine Yorke, withdrew themselues againe. Manie of them also leste the streates, and betooke them to houses which they found open: For the Serieant Maior Captaine Wilson slewe in one house with his owne hands three or foure, and causeth them that were with him to kil manie others. Their losse I can assure you did triple ours, aswell in qualitie as in quantitie.

During our march to this place, Generall Drake with the whole Fleete was come into *Cascais*, and possessed the Towne without anie resistance: manie of the inhabitants at their discouerie of our Nauie, fled with their baggage into the Mountaines, and lefte the Towne for anie man that would possesse it, till Generall Drake sent vnto them by a *Portingall* Pilot which he had on boord, to offer them all peaceable kindnes, so farre forth as they would accept of their King, and minister necessaries to the Armie he had brought: which offer they ioyfully embraced, & presently sent two chiefe men of their Towne, to signifie their loyaltie to Don Antonio, and their honest affections to our people. Whereupon, the Generall landed his Cõpanies not farre from the Cloyster called *San Domingo*, but not without perill of the shot of the Castle, which being guarded with sixtie fiue Spaniards helde still against him.

As our Fleete were casting anker when they came first into that Road, there was a small ship of *Brasil* that came from thence, which bare too with them, and seemed by striking her sayles, as though she would also haue ankered: but taking her fittest occasion, hoysed againe, and would haue passed vp the Riuer, but the Generall presently discerning her purpose, sent out a Pinnace or two after her, which forced her in such sort, as she ranne her selfe vppon the Rocks: all the men escaped out of her, and the lading

(being manie chests of sugar) was made nothing worth by the salt water. In his going thether also, he toke ships of the Port of *Portingal*, which wer sent from thence, with fiftœne other from Pedro Vermendes Xantes Serieant Maior of the same place, laden with men and victualls to *Lisbone*: the rest that escaped, put into *San Vues*.

The next day, it pleased General Norris to cal al ỹ Colonells together, and to aduise with them, whether it were more expedient to tarrie there to attend the Forces of the Portingall horse and foote wherof the King had made promise, and to march some conuenient number to *Cascais* to fetch our Artillarie and munition, which was all at our ships, sauing that, which for the necessitie of the Seruice, was brought along with vs: Whereunto, some carried away with the vaine hope of Don Antonio, that most part of the Towne stood for vs, held it best to make our abode there, and to send some 3000. for our Artillaries promising to themselues, that the Enemie being wel beaten the day before, would make no more sallyes: Some others, (whose vnbelœfe was verie strong of anie hope from the Portingall) perswaded rather to march whollie away, than to be anie longer carried away with an opinion of things, wherof there was so little apparance. The Generall, not willing to leaue anie occasion of blott to be layd vpon him for his spœdie going from thence, nor to lose anie more time by attending the hopes of Don Antonio; tolde them, that though the Expedition of *Portingall* were not the onely purpose of their Journey, but an aduenture therin; which if it succœded prosperously, might make them sufficiently rich, & wonderfull honorable; and that they had done so much alreadie in triall thercof, as what ende soeuer happened, could nothing impaire their credits: Yet in regard of the Kings last promise, that hœ should haue that night 3000. men armed of his owne Countrey, he would not for that night dislodge. And if they came, thereby to make him so strong, that hee might send the like number for his munition, he would resolue

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to trie his fortune for the Towne. But if they came not, he found it not conuenient to diuide his Forces, by sending anie to *Cascais*, and keeping a Remainder behinde, sithence he saw them the day before so boldly sally vpon his whole Armie, and knew that they were stronger of Souldiers armed within the Towne, than hee was without: And that before our returne could be from *Cascais*, that they expected more supplies from all places of Souldiers, for the Duke of *Bragantia*, and Don Francisco de *Toledo* were looked for with great reliefe. Whereupon his conclusion was, that if the 3000. promised, came not that night, to march wholly away the next morning.

It may bee here demanded, why a matter of so great moment should be so slenderlie regarded, as that the Generall should march with such an Armie against such an Enemie, before hee knewe either the fulnes of his owne strength, or certaine meanes how he should abide the place when he should come to it. Wherein I pray you remember the Decrée made in the Councell at *Penicha*, and confirmed by publique protestation the first day of our march, that our Nauie should meete vs in the riuer of *Lisbone*, in the which was the store of all our prouisions, & so the mean of our tariance in that place, which came not, though we continued till we had no Munition left to entertaine a verie small fight. We are also to consider, that the King of *Portingall* (whether carried away with imagination by the aduertisements hee receiued from the *Portingalls*, or willing by any promise to bring such an Armie into his Countrie, thereby to put his fortune once more in triall) assured the Generall, that vppon his first landing, there would be a reuolt of his subiects: wherof there was some hope giuen at our first entrie to *Penicha*, by the manner of the yeelding of that Towne and Fort, which made the Generall thinke it most conuenient speedilie to march to the principall place, thereby to giue courage to the rest of the Countrie. The Friers also and the poore people that came vnto him, promised that within two daies ỳ Gentle-

men and others of the countrie would come plentifully in: within which two daies came many more Prieſtes, and ſome verie fewe Gentlemen on horſebacke; but not till we came to *Toras Vedras*, where they that noted ẏ courſe of things how they paſſed, might ſomewhat diſcouer the weakenes of that people. There they toke two daies more: and at the ende thereof, referred him till our comming to *Liſbone*, with aſſurance, that ſo ſoone as our Armie ſhould be ſeene there, all the inhabitants would be for the King and fall vpon the *Spaniards*.

After two nights tarriance at *Liſbone*, the King, as you haue heard, promiſed a ſupplie of 3000. foote, and ſome horſe: but all his appoyntments being expired, euen to the laſt of a night, all his horſe could not make a Cornet of 40. nor his foote furniſh two Enſignes fullie, although they carried three or foure Colours: and theſe were altogether ſuch as thought to inrich themſelues by the ruine of their neighbors: for they committed more diſorders in euerie place wher we came by ſpoyle, thã any of our own.

The Generall, as you ſee, hauing done more than before his comming out of *England* was required by the King, and giuen credite to his many promiſes euen to the breach of the laſt, he deſiſted not to perſwade him to ſtay yet nine daies longer: in which time he might haue engaged himſelfe further, than with any honor he could come out of againe, by attempting a Towne fortified, wherein were more men armed againſt vs, than wee had to oppugne them with all our Artillarie and Munition, being fiftæne miles from vs, and our men then declining; for there was the firſt ſhewe of any great ſicknes amongſt them. Whereby it ſeemeth, that either his Prelacie did much abuſe him in perſwading him to hopes, whereof after two or three daies he ſawe no ſemblance: or he like a fillie louer, who promiſeth himſelfe fauour by importuning a coy miſtris, thought by our long being before his Towne, that in the ende taking pitie on him, they would let him in.

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What end the Friers had by following him with such deuotion, I knowe not, but sure I am, the Laitie did respite their homage till they might see which way the victorie would sway; fearing to shewe themselues apparantlie vnto him, least the *Spaniard* should after our departure (if we preuailed not) call them to accompt: yet sent they vnder hand messages to him of obedience, thereby to saue their owne if he became King; but indeede verie well contented to see the *Spaniards* and vs trie by blowes, who should carrie away the Crowne. For they bee of so base a mould, as they can verie well subiect themselues to any gouernment, where they may liue free frō blowes, and haue libertie to become rich, being loath to endure hazard either of life or goods. For durst they haue put on anie minds throughly to reuolt, they had three wonderfull good occasions offered them during our being there.

Themselues did in generall confesse, that there were not aboue 5000. *Spaniards* in that part of the Countrie, of which number the halfe were out of the Towne till the last day of our march: during which time, how easilie they might haue preuailed against the rest, any man may conceiue. But vpon our approach they toke them all in, and combined themselues in generall to the Cardinall.

The next day after our comming thether when the sallie was made vppon vs by their most resolute *Spaniards*, how easilie might they haue kept them out, or haue giuen vs the Gate which was held for their retreate, if they had had any thought thereof.

And two daies after our comming to *Cascaies*, when 6000. *Spaniards* and *Portingalls* came against vs as farre as *S. Iulians* by land, as you shall presentlie heare, (all which time I thinke there were not many *Spaniards* left in the Towne) they had a more fit occasion to shewe their deuotion to the King, than any could be offered by our tarrying there. And they could not doubt, that if they had shut them out, but that we would haue fought with them vpon that aduantage, hauing sought them in *Galitia* vpon

disaduantage to beate them: and hauing taken so much paines to seeke them at their owne houses, whereof wee gaue sufficient testimonie in the same accident. But I thinke the feare of the Spaniard had taken so deepe impression within them, as they durst not attempt any thing against them vpon anie hazard.

For, what ciuil Country hath euer suffred themselues to be conquered by so few men as they were; to be depriued of their naturall King, and to be tyrannized ouer thus long but they? And what Countrey liuing in slauerie vnder a stranger whom they naturally hate: hauing an Armie in the Field to fight for them & their libertie, would lie still with the yoke vpon their neckes, attending if anie strangers would vnburthē them, with out so much as rousing themselues vnder it but they? They will promise much in speaches, for they bee great talkers, whom the Generall had no reason to distrust without triall, & therefore marched on into their Countrey: But they performed little in action, whereof wee could haue had no proofe without this thorough triall. Wherein hee hath discouered their weakneſſe, and honorably performed more than could be in reason expected of him: which had he not done, would not these malingners who seeke occasions of slander, haue reported him to bee suspitious of a people, of whose infidelitie he had no testimonie: and to be fearfull without cause, if he had refused to giue credite to their promises without anie aduenture? Let no friuolous Questionist therefore further enquire, why he marched so manie dayes to *Lisbone*, and tarried there so small a while.

The next morning, seeing no performance of promise kept, he gaue order for our marching away; himselfe, the Earle of *Essex*, and Sir Roger Williams remaining with the Stande that was made in the high streate, till the whole Armie was drawne into the field, and so marched out of the Towne, appointing Captain Richard Wingfield, and Captaine Anthonie Wingfield in the Arrereward of them with the shot; thinking that the Enemie

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(as it was most likelie) would haue issued out vppon our rising; but they were otherwise aduised. When we were come into the field, euerie Battalion fell into that order which by course appertained vnto them, and so marched that night vnto *Cascaies*. Had wee marched through his Countrie as enemies, our Souldiers had bēn well supplied in all their wants: but had wee made enemies of the Suburbs of *Lisbone*, wee had bēn the richest Armie that euer went out of *England*: for besides the particuler wealth of euerie house, there were many warehouses by the water side full of all sorts of rich Marchandizes.

In our march that day, the Gallies which had somewhat, but not much, annoyed vs at *Lisbone*, (for that our way lay along the riuer) attended vs till we were past *S. Julians*, bestowing many shot amongst vs, but did no harme at all, sauing they strooke off a priuate Gentlemans legge, and killed the Sergeant Maiors moyle vnder him. The horsemen also followed vs a farre of, and cut off as many sicke men as were not able to hold in march, nor we had carriage for.

After we had bēn two daies at *Cascais*, wee had intelligence by a Frier, that the Enemie was marching strongly towards vs, and then come as farre as *S. Iulians*: which newes was so welcome to the Earle of *Essex* and the Generalls, as they offered euerie one of them to giue the messenger a hundred Crownes if they found them in the place: for the Generall desiring nothing more than to fight with them in field roume, dispatched that night a messenger with a Trompet, by whom he writ a Cartell to the Generall of their Armie, wherein he gaue them the lie, in that it was by them reported that we dislodged from *Lisbone* in disorder and feare of them (which indeede was most false) for that it was fiue of the clock in the morning before wee fell into Armes, and then went in such sort, as they had no courage to followe out vpon vs. Also he challenged him therein, to meete him the nexte morning with his whole Armie, if he durst attend his comming,

and

and there to trie out the iuſtnes of their quarrell by battaile: by whom alſo the Earle of *Eſſex* (who preferring the honor of the cauſe, which was his Countries, before his owne ſafetie) ſent a particuler Cartell, offering himſelfe againſt any of theirs, if they had any of his qualitie: or if they would not admit of that, ſixe, eight, or tenne, or as many as they would appoynt, ſhould méete ſo many of theirs in the head of our Battaile to trie their fortunes with them, and that they ſhould haue aſſurance of their returne and honorable intreatie.

The Generall accordingly made all his Armie readie by three of the clocke in the morning and marched euen to the place where they had encamped, but they were diſlodged in the night in great diſorder, being taken with a ſodaine feare that we had béen come vpon them, as the Generall was the next daye certeinly informed: ſo as the Trumpet followed them to *Lisbone*, but could not get other anſwere to either of his letters, but threatning to bee hanged, for daring to bring ſuch a meſſage: howbeit the Generall had cauſed to bee written vppon the backſide of their paſport, ẏ if they did offer any violence vnto the meſſengers, he would hang the beſt priſoners he had of theirs: which made them to aduiſe better of the matter and to returne them home, but without anſwere.

After our Armie came to *Caſcais*, and the Caſtle ſommoned, the Caſtillan thereof graunted, that vpon fiue or ſixe ſhot of the Cannon hee would deliuer the ſame, but not without ſight thereof. The Generall thinking that his diſtreſſe within had been ſuch for want of men or victualls as he could not hold it many daies, becauſe he ſawe it otherwiſe defencible enough, determined rather to make him yeeld to that neceſſitie, than to bring the Cannon, and therefore onlie ſet a gard vpon the ſame, leaſt anie ſupplie of thoſe things which hee wanted ſhould bee brought vnto them. But he ſtill ſtanding vpon thoſe conditions, the Generall about two daies before he determined to goe to Sea, brought three or foure peeces of batterie

terie againſt it: vpon the firſt tire whereof he rendered, and compounded to goe away with his baggage and Armes: he had one Cannon, two Culuerings, one Baſiliſke, and three or foure other field peeces, three ſcore and fiue Souldiers, verie good ſtore of munition, and victuals enough in the Caſtle; inſomuch as hee might haue held the ſame longer than the Generall had in purpoſe to tarie there. One Companie of foot men was put into the garde thereof, til the Artillarie was taken out, & our Armie embarked; which without hauing that Fort, we could not without great perill haue done. When we were readie to ſet ſaile (one halfe of the Fort being by order from the Generall blowne vp by myne) the Companie was drawne away.

During the time we lay in the Road, our Fléete began the ſecond of June, and ſo continued fiue daies after to fetch in ſome Hulks to the number of 60. of *Danſik*, *Staten*, *Raſtock*, *Lubec* and *Hamburgh*, laden with Spaniſh goods, and as it ſeemed for the Kings prouiſion, and going for *Liſbone*: their principall lading was Corne, Maſtes, Cables, Copper, and Waxe: amongſt which were ſome of great burthen wonderfull well builded for ſailing, which had no great lading in them, and therefore it was thought that they were brought for the Kings prouiſion, to reinforce his decaied Nauie: whereof there was the greater likelihood, in that the owner of the greateſt of them, which carried two Miſnes, was knowne to be verie inward with the Cardinall, who rather than hée would be taken with his ſhips, committed himſelfe vnto his ſmall boate, wherein he recouered *S. Sebaſtians*. Into the which our men, that before were in Fléeboates, were ſhipped, and the Fléeboates ſent home with an offer of Corne to the value of their hire. But the wind being good for them for *Rochel*, they choſe rather to loſe their Corne than the winde, and ſo departed. The Generall alſo ſent his horſes with them, and from thence ſhipped them into *England*.

The third of June, Colonell Deuereux and Colonell Sidney, being both verie ſicke, departed for *England*, who in the whole iourney had ſhewed themſelues verie forward to all ſeruices, and in their departure verie vnwilling to leaue vs: that day we embarked all our Armie, but lay in the Road vntill the eight thereof.

The firſt day the Earle of *Eſſex*, vpon receipt of letters from her Maieſtie, by them that brought in the victualls, preſentlie departed towards *England*, with whom Sir Roger Williams was verie deſirous to goe, but found the Generals verie vnwilling he ſhould do ſo, in ỳ he bare the next place vnto them, and if they ſhould miſcarrie, was to commaund the Armie. And the ſame day there came vnto vs two ſmall Barkes that brought tidings of ſome other ſhippes come out of *England* with victualls, which were paſſed vpwards to the Cape: for meeting with whom, the ſecond day after wee ſet ſaile for that place, in purpoſe after our meeting with them to goe to the Iles of *Açores*, the ſecond day, which was the ninth, wee met with them comming backe againe towards vs, whoſe prouiſion little anſwered our expectation. Notwithſtanding, we reſolued to continue our courſe for the Ilands.

About this time was the Marchant Royal, with three or foure other ſhippes ſent to *Penicha*, to fetch away the Companies that were left there; but Captaine Barton hauing receiued letters from the Generalls that were ſent ouerland, was departed before, not being able by reaſon of the enemies ſpeedie marching thether, either to bring away the Artillarie, or all his men, according to the direction thoſe letters gaue him; for hee was no ſooner gone, than the Enemie poſſeſſed the Towne and Caſtle, and ſhot at our ſhips as they came into the Road.

At this time alſo was the Ambaſſador from the Emperour of *Moroco*, called Rays Hamet Bencaſamp, returned, and with him Maſter Ciprian, a Gentleman of good place and deſart, was ſent from Don Anthonio, and Captaine Ouſley from the Generals, to the Emperour.

The

The next morning, the nine Gallies which were sent not fiue daies before out of *Andolosia* for the strengthening of the riuer of *Lisbone* (which being ioyned with the other twelue that were there before, though wee lay hard by them at *S. Iulians*, durst neuer make any attempt against vs vppon our departure from thence) were returning home, and in the morning being a verie dead calme, in the dawning thereof fell in the winde of our Fléete, in the vttermost part whereof they assailed one stragling Barke of *Plymouth*, of the which Captaine Cauerley being Captaine of the land Companie, with his Lieutenant, the Master, and some of the Marriners abandoned the shippe, and betooke them to the ship boates, whereof one, in which the Master & the Captain wer, was ouerrun with the Gallies, and they drowned. There was also two Hulks stragled farre from the strength of the other ships, which were so calmed, as neither they could get to vs, nor we to them, though all the great ships towed with their boates to haue relieued them, but could not be recouered; in one of which was Captaine Minshaw with his Companie, who fought with them to the last, yea after his ship was on fire, which whether it was fired by himselfe or by them we could not well discerne, but might easilie iudge by his long and good fight, that the Enemie could not but susteine much losse, who setting also vpon one other Hulk wherein was but a Lieutenant, and he verie sicke, were by the valour of the Lieutenant put off, although they had first beaten her with their Artillarie, and attempted to board her. And seeing also one other Hulke a league of, a sterne of vs, they made towards her; but finding that she made readie to fight with them, they durst not further attempt her: whereby it seemed their losse being great in the other fights, they were loath to proceed any further.

From that day till the 19. of June, our direction from the Generall was, that if the winde were Northerlie wee should plie for the *Açores*; but if Southerlie, for the Iles of *Bayon*. Wee lay with contrarie windes about that

place and the Rocke, till the Southerlie wind prevailing carried vs to *Bayon*, part of our ships to the number of 25. in a great winde which was two dayes before, having lost the Admiralls and Fléete, according to their direction, fell in the morning of that day with *Bayon*, among whome, was Sir Henrie Norris in the *Ayde*: who had in purpose (if the Admiralls had not come in) with some 500. men out of them all to haue landed, and attempted the taking of *Vigo*. The rest of the Fléete helde with Generall Drake, who though he were two dayes before put vppon those Islandes, cast off againe to sea for the *Açores*: but remembring how vnprouided he was for that Journey, & seeing that he had lost manie of his great ships, returned for *Bayon*, and came in there that night in the Euening, where he passed vp the riuer more than a mile aboue *Vigo*.

The next morning we landed as manie as were able to fight, which were not in the whole aboue 2000. men, (for in the 17. dayes wee continued on bord wee had cast manie of our men ouer bord) with which number the Colonell Generall marched to the Towne of *Vigo*, neare the which when hee approached, hee sent Captaine Anthonie Wingfield with a Troope of shot to enter one side of the same, who found vpon euerie stréetes end a strong Barricade, but altogether abandoned: for hauing entered the Towne, he found but one man therin, but might see them máking way before him to *Bayon*. On the other side of the Towne entred Generall Drake with Captaine Richard Wingfield, whose approach on that side (I thinke) made them leaue the places they had so artificially made for defence: there were also certaine ships sent with the Vizeadmirall to lye close before the Towne, to beate vpon the same with their artillarie.

In the afternoone were sent 300. vnder the conduct of Captaine Petuin and Captaine Henrie Poure, to burne another village betwixt that & *Bayon*, called *Borsis*, & as much of the Countrey as the day would giue them leaue to do; which was a verie pleasant rich Valley, but they burnt

burnt it all, houſes and corne, as did others on the other ſide of the Towne, both that and the next day, ſo as the Countrry was ſpoyled ſeuen or eight miles in length. There was found great ſtore of wine in the Towne, but not anie thing els: for the other daies warning of the ſhips that came firſt in, gaue them a reſpite to carrie all away.

The next morning by breake of the day, the Colonell Generall, (who in abſence of the Generalls that were on bord their ſhips, commanded that night on ſhore) cauſed all our Companies to be drawen out of the Towne, and ſent in two Troops to put fier in euerie houſe of the ſame, which done we imbarked againe.

This day, there were certaine Marriners (without anie direction) put themſelues on ſhoare, on the contrarie ſide of the Riuer from vs, for pillage; who were beaten by the Enemie from their boates, and puniſhed by the Generalls for their offer, in going without allowance.

The reaſons why we attempted nothing againſt *Bayon*, were before ſhewed to bee want of artillarie, and may now be alledged to be the ſmall number of our men: who ſhould haue gone againſt ſo ſtrong a place, manned with verie good ſouldiers, as was ſhowed by Iuan de Vera taken at the *Groyne*, who confeſſed that there were 600. olde Souldiers in Garriſon there of *Flanders*, and the Tercios of *Naples*, lately alſo returned out of the Journey of *England*: vnder the leading of

Capitan Puebla.
Chriſtofero Vaſques de Viralta, a Souldier of *Flanders*.
Don Petro Camaſcho, de tercio de Naples.
Don Franciſco de Ceſpedes.
Capt. Iuan de Solo, de tercio de Naples.
Don Diego de Caſſaua.
Capt. Sanban.

Alſo he ſaith, there be 18. péces of braſſe, and foure of yron lately layd vppon the walls of the Towne, beſides them that were there before.

The ſame day the Generalls ſéeing what weake eſtate our Armie was drawen into by ſickneſſe, determined to man and victuall 20. of the beſt ſhips for the Iſlandes of *Açores* with Generall Drake, to ſée if he could méete with the Indian Fléete, and Generall Norris to returne home with the reſt. And for the ſhifting of men and victualls accordingly, purpoſed the next morning to fall downe to the Iſlands of *Bayon* againe, and to remaine there that daye. But Generall Drake according to their appoyntment being vnder ſayle, neuer ſtroke at the Iſlandes, but put ſtraight to ſea; whom all the Fléete followed ſauing 33. which being in the Riuer further than he, and at the enterrance out of the ſame, finding the winde and tide too hard againſt them, were inforced to caſt Anker there for that night: amongſt whom, by good Fortune was the Foreſight, and in her Sir Edward Norris. And the night following, Generall Norris being driuen from the reſt of the Fléete by a great ſtorme, (for all that daye was the greateſt ſtorme we had all the time we were out) came againe into the Iſlands, but not without great perill, hee beeing forced to truſt to a Spaniſh Fiſher-man (who was taken two dayes before at ſea) to bring him in.

The next morning he called a Councell of as manie as he found there, holding the purpoſe he had before concluded with Sir Francis Drake the day before, and directed all their courſes for *England*, tarying there all that day to water and helpe ſuch with victuall, as were lefte in wonderfull diſtreſſe, by hauing the victualls that came laſt, caried away the day before to ſea.

The next day he ſet ſayle, & the tenth day after, which was the ſecond of July came into *Plymouth*, where he found Sir Francis Drake, & all the Queenes ſhips, with manie of the others, but not all: for the Fleete was diſperſed into other harbors; ſome lead by a deſire of returning from whence they came, and ſome being poſſeſſed of the Hulkes, ſought other Ports from their Generals eye, wher they might make their priuate commoditie of them,

as

as they haue done to their great aduantage.

Presently vpon their their arriuall there, the Generals dissolued all the Armie, sauing 8. Companies, which are yet held together, giuing euerie Souldier fiue shillings in money, and the Armes he bare to make money of, which was more than could by anie meanes be due vnto thē: for they were not in seruice three months, in which time they had their victualls, which no man will value at lesse than halfe their pay; for such is the allowance in her Maiesties ships to her Marriners, so as there remained but ten shillings a month more to be paid, for which there was not any priuate man but had apparell and furniture to his own vse, so as euerie common Souldier discharged, receaued more in money, victualls, apparell and furniture, than his pay did amount vnto.

Notwithstanding, there be euen in the same place wher those things haue passed, that either do not or will not conceaue the Souldiers estate, by comparing their pouertie and the shortnesse of the time together, but lay some iniuries vpon the Generalls and the action. Where, and by the way, but especiallie here in *London*, I finde there haue been some false prophets gone before vs, telling straunge tales: For as our Countrey doth bring forth manie gallant men, who desirous of honour, do put themselues into the actions thereof, so doth it manie more dull spirited, who though their thoughtes reach not so high as others, yet do they listen how other mens acts do passe, and eyther beleeuing what anie man will report vnto them, are willingly caried away into errors, or tied to some greater mans faith, become secretaries against a noted truth. The one sort of these do take their opinions from the high way side, or at the fardest goe no farther than Paules to enquire what hath been done in this Voyage: where, if they meete with anie, whose capacitie before their going out could not make them liue, nor their valour maintain their reputation, and who went onely for spoyle, complayning on the hardnesse and miserie thereof, they thinke they are

bound

bound to giue credite to these honest men who were parties therein, and in verie charitie become of their opinions. The others to make good the faction they are entred into, if they sée anie of those malecontents (as euerie iourney yéeldeth some) do runne vnto them like tempting spirits to confirme them in their humour, with assurance that they foresawe before our going out what would become thereof.

Be ye not therefore too credulous in beléeuing euerie report, for you sée there haue bén many more beholders of these things þ haue passed, thã actors in the same; who by their experience, not hauing the knowledge of the ordinarie wants of the warre, haue thought that to lie hard, not to haue their meate well dressed, to drinke sometimes water, to watch much, or to see men die and be slaine, was a miserable thing; and not hauing so giuen their minds to the seruice as they are any thing instructed thereby, do for want of better matter discourse ordinarilie of these things: whereas the iourney (if they had with that iudgement seen into it, and as their places required) hath giuen them farre more honorable purpose and argument of discourse.

These mens discontentments and misliking before our comming home, haue made me labour thus much to instruct you in the certeintie of euerie thing, because I would not willinglie haue you miscarried in the iudgements of them, wherein you shall giue me leaue somewhat to delate vpon a question, which I onlie touched in the beginning of my letter, namelie, whether it bee more expedient for our estate to maintaine an offensiue warre against the King of *Spaine* in the Lowe Countries, or as in this iourney, to offend him in his nérer Territories, seeing the grounds of arguing thereof are taken from the experience which the actions of this iourney haue giuen vs.

There is no good subiect that will make question, whether it bee behouefull for vs to hold friendship with these neigh-

neighbours of ours or no, aswell in respect of the infinite proportion of their shipping, which must stand either with vs, or against vs; as of the commoditie of their Harbors, especiallie that of *Vlishing*, by the fauour whereof our Nauie may continuallie keepe the Narrow Seas, and which would harbour a greater Fleete against vs, than the *Spaniard* shall neede to annoy vs withall; who being now distressed by our common Enemie, I thinke it most expedient for our safetie to defend them, and if it may bee to giue them a reentrie into that they haue of late yeares lost vnto him. The one without doubt her Maiestie may do without difficultie, and in so honorable sort as he shall neuer be able to dispossesse her or them of any the townes they now hold. But if any man thinke that the *Spaniard* may bee expelled from thence more speedilie, or conuenientlie by keeping an Armie there, than by sending one against him into his own Countrie: let him foresee of how many men and continuall supplies that Armie must consist, and what intollerable expences it requireth. And let him thinke by the example of the Duke of *Alua*, when the Prince of *Orrenge* had his great Armie against him: and of Don Ion, when the States had their mightie assemblie against him, how this wise Enemie, with whom wee are to deale, may but by prolonging to fight with vs, leaue vs occasions enough for our Armie within fewe moneths to mutine and breake; or by keeping him in his Townes leaue vs a spoyled field: where though our prouision may be such of our owne as we starue not, yet is our weaknes in any strange Countrie such, as with sicknes and miserie we shall be dissolued. And let him not forget what a continuall burthen wee hereby lay vpon vs, in that to repossesse those Countries which haue been lately lost, will be a warre of longer continuance than wee shall be able to endure.

In the verie action whereof, what should hinder the King of *Spaine* to bring his forces home vnto vs? For it is certaine he hath long since set downe in Councell, that

there is no way for him wholie to recouer those Lowe Countries, but by bringing the warre vppon *England* it selfe, which hath alwaies assisted them against him: and that being determined, and whereunto he hath bẽn vehementlie vrged by the last yeeres losse he susteined vppon our Coasts, and the great dishonor this iourney hath laid vpon him; no doubt if we shall giue him respite to dw it, but he will mightelie aduance his purpose, for he is richlie able thereunto, and wonderfull desirous of reuenge.

To encounter wherewith, I wish euen in true and honest zeale to my Countrie, that wee were all perswaded that there is no such assured meanes for the safetie of our estate, as to busie him with a well furnished Armie in *Spaine*, which hath so many goodlie Bayes open, as wẽ may land without impeachment as many men as shall be needfull for such an inuasion. And hauing an Armie of twentie thousand royallie furnished there, wee shall not neede to take much care for their paiment: for shall not *Lisbone* be thought able to make so fewe men rich, when the Suburbs thereof were found so abounding in riches, as had we made enemie of them, they had largely inriched vs all? Which with what small losse it may be wonne, is not here to shewe; but why it was not wonne by vs, I haue herein shewed you. Or is not the spoyle of *Cuill* sufficient to pay more than shall be needfull to be sent against it, whose defence (as that of *Lisbone*) is onlie force of men, of whom how many may for the present be raised, it is not to be esteemed, because wee haue discouered what kinde of men they bee; euen such as will neuer abide ours in field, nor dare withstand any resolute attempt of ours against them: for during the time wee were in many places of their Countrie, they cannot say that euer they made twentie of our men turne their faces from them. And be there not many other places of lesse difficultie to spoyle, able to satisfie our forces?

But admit that if vpon this Alarme that wee haue giuen him, he tendring his naturall and neerest soyle before his

his further remoued off gouernments, do drawe his forces of old Souldiers out of the Low Countries for his own defence, is not the victorie then wonne by drawing and holding them from thence, for the which we should haue kept an Armie there at a charge by many parts greater than this, and not stirred them?

Admit further our Armie bee impeached from landing there, yet by keeping the Sea, and possessing his principall Roades, are wee not in possibilitie to meete with his Indian Merchants, and verie like to preuent him of his prouisions comming out of the East Countries? without the which, neither the subiect of *Lisbone* is long able to liue, nor the King able to maintain his Nauie: for though the countrey of *Portingall* do some peres finde themselues corne, yet are they neuer able to victuall the least part of that Citie. And albeit the King of *Spaine* be the richest Prince in Christendome, yet can he neyther draw cables, hew masts, nor make powder out of his mettalls, but is to bee supplied of them all from thence. Of whom (some will holde opinion) it is no reason to make prize, because they be not our enemies: and that our disagreeance with them, will impeach the trade of our Merchants, and so impouerish our Countrey. Of whose minde I can hardly be drawen to be: For, if my enemie fighting with me do breake his sword, so as I therby haue the aduantage against him; what shall I thinke of him that putteth a new sword into his hand to kil me withal? And may it not be thought more fitting for vs in these times to lose our trades of cloath, than by suffering these mischiefes, to put in hazard, whether we shall haue a Countrey lefte to make cloth in, or no? And yet though neither *Hamburgh*, *Embden*, nor *Stode* do receiue our cloth, the necessarie vse thereof in all places is such, as they will finde meanes to take it from vs, with our sufficient commoditie.

And admit (which were impossible) that wee dammifie him neither at sea nor land (for vnlesse it bee with a much more mightie Armie than ours, he shall neuer be able to

withstand vs) yet shal we by holding him at his home, free our selues from the warre at our owne walls: the benefite whereof let them consider, ẏ best can iudge, & haue obserued the differẽce of inuading, & being inuaded; the one giuing courage to the Souldier, in that it doth set before him commoditie and reputation; the other a fearfull terror to the Countrey man, who if by chaunce hee play the man, yet is he neuer the richer: and who knowing manie holes to hide himselfe in, will trie them all before hee put his life in perill by fighting: whereas the Inuador casteth vp his accompt before he goeth out, and being abroad must fight to make himselfe way, as not knowing what place or strength to trust vnto. I will not say what I obserued in our Countrey men when the enimie offered to assaile vs here: but I wish that all *England* knewe what terror we gaue to the same people that frighted vs, by visiting them at their owne houses.

Were not Alexanders fortunes great against the mightie Darius, onely in that his Macedonians thirsted after the wealth of *Persia*, and were bound to fight it out to the last man, because the last man knewe no safer waye to saue himselfe, than by fighting? Whereas the Persians, either trusting to continue still masters of their wealth by yeelding to the Inuador, began to practise against their owne King: or hauing more inward hopes, did hide themselues euen to the last, to see what course the Conquerour would take in his Conquest. And did not the aduice of Scipio, though mightely impugned at the first, proue verie sound and honorable to his Countrey? Who, seeing the Romanes wonderfully amazed at the nearnesse of their enemies Forces, and the losses they dayly sustained by them, gaue counsaile, rather by way of diuersion to carrie an Armie into *Affricke*, & there to assaile, than by a defenciue warre at home to remaine subiect to the commõ spoyles of an assailing Enemie. Which being put in execution, drew the Enemie from the Gates of *Rome*, and Scipio returned home with triumph: albeit his

begin-

beginnings at the first, were not so fortunate against thē, as ours haue bēn in this small time against the Spaniard. The good successe whereof, maye encourage vs to take Armes resolutely against him. And I beseech God it may stirre vp all men that are particularly interested therein, to bethinke themselues how small a matter will assure them of their safetie, by holding the Spaniard at a bay, so farre of: whereas if wee giue him leaue quietly to hatch and bring forth his preparations, it will bee with danger to vs all.

He taketh not Armes against vs by anie pretence of title to the Crowne of this Realme, nor led altogether with an ambitious desire to command our Countrey, but with hatred towardes our whole Nation and Religion: Her Maiesties Scepter is alreadie giuen by Bull to another, the honours of our Nobilitie are bestowed for rewardes vpon his attendants, our Clergie, our Gentlemen, our Lawyers, yea all men of what condition soeuer, are offered for spoyle vnto the common Souldier. Let euerie man therefore in defence of the libertie and plentie hee hath of long enioyed, offer a voluntarie contribution of the smallest part of their store for the assurance of the rest. It were not much for euerie Iustice of peace, who by his blewe coate protecteth the properest and most seruiceable men at euerie musker from the warres, to contribute the charge that one of these idlemen doo put him to for one yere: nor for the Lawyer, who riseth by the dissentions of his neighbors, to take but one yeares giftes (which they call fees) out of his coffers. What would it hinder euerie Officer of the Exchequer, and other of her Maiesties Courtes, who without checke doo sodainlie grow to great wealth, honestlie to bring forth the mysticall commoditie of one yeres profites? Or the Clergie, who looke precisely for the Tenths of euerie mans increase, simply to bring forth the Tenth of one yeares gathering, and in thankfulnes to her Maiestie, (who hath continued for all our safeties, a most chargeable warre both at land and sea) bestowe the

ſame for her honour and their owne aſſurance, vppon an Armie which may make this bloodie Enemie, ſo to knowe himſelfe and her Maieſties power, as hee ſhall bethinke him what it is to moone a ſtirring people? Who, though they haue receaued ſome ſmall checke by the ſickneſſe of this laſt Journey, yet doubt I not, but if it were made knowen, that the like Voyage were to be ſupported by a generalitie, (that might and would beare the charge of a more ample prouiſion) but there would of all ſortes moſt willingly put themſelues into the ſame: ſome caried with an honorable deſire to be in action, & ſome in loue of ſuch, would affectionately follow their fortunes: ſome in thirſting to reuenge the death and hurts of their brethren, kindred, and friends: and ſome in hope of the plentiful ſpoyles to be found in thoſe Countreyes, hauing bẽ there alreadie and returned poore, would deſire to goe againe, with an expectation to make amends for the laſt: and all, in hatred of that cowardly proud Nation, and in contemplation of the true honor of our own, would with courage take Armes, to hazard their liues againſt them, whom euerie good Engliſh man is in nature bound to hate as an implacable Enemie to *England*, thirſting after our bloode, and labouring to ruine our land, with hope to bring vs vnder the yoke of perpetuall ſlauerie.

Againſt them is true honour to bee gotten, for that wee ſhall no ſooner ſet foote in their land, but that euery ſteppe we tread will yéeld vs newe occaſion of action, which I wiſh the gallantrie of our Countrie rather to regarde, than to followe thoſe ſoft vnprofitable pleaſures, wherein they now conſume their time and patrimonie. And in two or three Townes of *Spaine* is the wealth of all *Europe* gathered together, which are the Magazins of the fruits and profites of the Eaſt and Weſt *Indies*: whereunto I wiſh our young able men, who againſt the libertie they are borne vnto, (terme themſelues Seruing men) rather to bend their deſires and affections, than to attend their double liuerie and fortie ſhillings by the yeare wages, and

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the reuersion of the old Coppie-hold, for carrying a dish to his maisters table. But let me here reprehend my selfe and craue pardon, for entring into a matter of such state and consequence, the care whereof is already laid vpon a most graue and honorable Councell, who will in their wisedomes foresee the dangers that may bee threatned against vs. And why do I labour to disquiet the securitie of these happie Gentlemen, & the trade of those honest Seruing men, by perswading them to the warres, when I see the profession therof so slenderlie estéemed? For though al our hope of peace bee frustrate, and our quarells determinable by the sword: though our Enemie hath by his own forces and his pensionaries industrie, confined the vnited Prouinces into a narrowe roume, and almost disunited the same: if he be now in a good way to harbour himselfe in the principall Hauens of *France*, from whence he may hunt vs at pleasure: yea though wee are to hope for nothing but a bloudie warre, nor can trust to any helpe but Armes; yet how farre the common sort are from reuerencing or regarding any persons of conduction, was too apparant in the returne of this our iourney, wherein the base and common souldier hath been tollerated to speake against the Captaine, and the souldier and Captaine against the Generalls, and wherein mechanicall and men of base condition doo dare to censure the doings of them, of whose acts they be not worthie to talke.

The auncient graue degrée of the Prelacie is vpheld, though Martin raple neuer so much, and the Lawyer is after the olde manner worshipped, whosoeuer inueigh against him: But the auncient English honour is taken from our Men of Warre, and their Profession in disgrace, though neuer so necessarie. Either we commit Idolatrie to Neptune, and will put him alone still to fight for vs as he did the last yere, or we be inchanted with some diuellish opinions, that trauaile nothing more than to diminish the reputation of them, vpon whose shoulders the burthen of our defence against the Enemie must lie when occa-

occasion shall be offered. For whensoeuer he shall set foote vpon our land, it is neither the preaching of the Clergie that can turne him out againe, nor the pleading of any Lawyers that can remoue him out of possession: no, then they will honour them whom now they thinke not on, and then must those men stand betweene them and their perills, who are now thought vnworthie of any estimation.

May the burning of one Towne (which cost the King then being, fiue times as much as this hath done her Maiestie, wherein were lost seauen times as many men as in any one seruice of this iourney, and tarried not the tenth part of our time in the Enemies Countrie) bee by our elders so highly reputed, and sounded out by the historie of the Realme; and can our voyage be so meanlie esteemed, wherein wee burned both Townes and Countries without the losse of fortie men in any such attempt?

Did our Kings in former times reward some with the greatest titles of honour for ouerthrowing a number of poore *Scots*, who after one battaile lost, were neuer able to reenforce themselues against him; and shall they in this time who haue ouerthrowne our mightie Enemie in battaile, and taken his royall Standerd in the field, besieged the Marques of *Saralba* fiftéene daies together, that should haue béen the Generall of the Armie against vs, brought away so much of his Artillarie (as I haue before declared) be vnworthelie estéemed of?

Is it possible that some in some times should receiue their reward for looking vppon an Enemie, and ours in this time not receiue so much as thankes, for hauing beaten an Enemie at handie strokes?

But it is true, that no man shall be a Prophet in his Countrey: and for my owne part, I will lay aside my Armes till that profession shall haue more reputation, and liue with my friends in the Countrey, attending either some more fortunate time to vse them, or some other good occasion to make me forget them.

But

But what? shall the blind opinion of this Monster, a beast of many heads, (for so hath the generaltie of old been termed) cause me to neglect the profession from whence I challenge some reputation; or diminish my loue to my Countrey, which hetherto hath nourished mee? No, it was for her sake I first toke Armes: and for her sake I will handle them so long as I shall be able to vse them: not regarding how some men in priuate conuenticles doo measure mens estimations by their owne humours; nor how euerie populer person doth giue sentence on euerie mans actions by the worst accidents. But attending the gracious aspect of our dread Soueraigne, who neuer yet left vertue vnrewarded: and depending vpon the iustice of her most rare and graue aduisors, who by their heedie loking into euerie mans worth, doo giue encouragement to the vertuous to exceede others in vertue: and assuring you that there shall neuer any thing happen more pleasing vnto me, than that I may once againe be a partie in some honorable iourney against the *Spaniard* in his owne Countrie, I will cease my complaint: and with them that deserue beyond me, patiently endure the vnaduised censure of our malicious reprouers.

If I haue seemed in the beginning hereof troublesome vnto you in the discouering of those impediments; and answering the slaunders which by the vulgar malicious and mutinous sort are laid as blemishes vpon the iourney, and reproaches vpon the Generalls (hauing indeede proceeded from other heads): let the necessitie of conseruing the reputation of the action in generall, and the honors of our Generalls in particuler, be my sufficient excuse: the one hauing by the vertue of the other made our Cõuntrie more dreaded and renowmed, than any act that euer *England* vndertoke before? Or if you haue thought my perswasible discourse long in the latter end; let the affectionate desire of my Countries good bee therein answerable for me. And such as it is I pray you accept it, as onely recommended to your selfe, and not to bee deliuered to the

publique view of the world, least any man take offence thereat; which some particuler men may seeme iustlie to dw, in that hauing deserued verie well, I should not herein giue them their due commendations: whereas my purpose in this priuate discourse, hath bēn onelie to gratifie you with a touch of those principall matters that haue passed, wherein I haue onelie taken notes of those men who either commanded euery seruice, or were of chiefest marke: if therefore you shall impart the same to one, and hē to another, and so it passe through many hands, I knowe not what constructions would be made thereof to my preiudice; for that the Hares eares may happelie bē taken for hornes. Howbeit, I hold it verie necessarie (I must confesse) that there should bee some true manifestation made of these things: but bee it farre from me to bē the author thereof, as verie vnfit to deliuer my censure of any matter in publique, and most vnwilling to haue my weaknes discouered in priuate. And so dw leaue you to the happie successe of your accustomed good exercises, earnestlie wishing that there may bee some better acceptance made of the fruites of your studies, than there hath bēn of our hazards in the warres. From *London* the 30. of August. 1589.

FINIS.

Errors in sundrie names must thus be read.

Pag. 16. lin. 31. reade *Santa Cruz*. lin. 23. reade at *Madrid*. Pag. 17. lin. 1. reade at *Madrid*. lin. 2. reade Capt. *Manço*. Pag. 21. lin. 12. reade Cap. *Sydenham*. Pag. 29. lin. 8. reade at *Loriña*. lin. 34. 35. reade *los Caualleros*. Pag. 34. lin. 6. reade *Sant'Vués*. Pag. 45. lin. 29. 31. read del Tercio de Napoles. lin. 34. reade Capt. Sauban.